HENRY V

City of Westminster.

St. Martin's ~~Lane~~ STREET Lending Library.

Hours. Weekdays, 10 a.m. to 8 p.m., except Saturdays (10 a.m. to 2 p.m.) Entrance barrier shut five minutes before closing time. Closed on public holidays.

Fifteen days (including days of issue and return) allowed for reading this book. Fine of one half-penny per day or portion of a day if detained longer.

Renewals. Any book (except a work of fiction) may be re-borrowed for a further period of fifteen days, unless required by another reader.

Care of books. Books must be kept clean, protected from wet weather, and any damage reported on return. Books will not be entrusted to messengers considered unfit to take proper care of them.

Change of residence, either of borrowers or their guarantors, must be notified immediately.

Lost tickets to be notified as soon as possible. Borrowers are responsible for any books borrowed on their tickets.

Satchels or bags and, in wet weather, **umbrellas** must be left with the attendant.

Stocktaking. All books must be returned on or before the FIRST SATURDAY IN AUGUST OF EACH YEAR, as the Lending Library is then closed for examination of stock. In default of such return a fine of **one shilling** will be incurred.

Infectious disease. IF INFECTIOUS DISEASE SHOULD BREAK OUT IN YOUR HOUSE DO NOT RETURN THIS BOOK, BUT AT ONCE INFORM THE LIBRARIAN. PENALTY FOR INFRINGEMENT OF THIS REGULATION, OR FOR KNOWINGLY PERMITTING THE BOOK TO BE EXPOSED TO INFECTION, £5.

Reserve Stock

P.540/10M/28/3/24 H & S Ltd.

B

S

942.042
MOW

LONDON BOROUGH OF LEWISHAM

LIBRARIES DEPARTMENT

BOOK STORE

Books must be returned on or before the last date stamped below or on the date card. Fines on overdue books will be charged:– ½d per day for the first week (1d minimum), 1d per day for the second week. 2d per day thereafter.

Books are renewable by phone, letter or personal call unless required by another reader.

ALL LIBRARIES are closed on Sundays, Good Friday, Christmas Day, Bank Holidays, and the Saturdays prior to Bank Holidays.

RESERVE STOCK

Kings and Queens of England

EDITED BY

ROBERT S. RAIT M.A. AND WILLIAM PAGE F.S.A.

HENRY V

CITY OF WESTMINSTER
PUBLIC LIBRARIES

HENRY V
Queen's College, Oxford

HENRY V

BY

R. B. MOWAT M.A.

FELLOW AND ASSISTANT TUTOR OF
CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, OXFORD

ILLUSTRATED

LONDON
CONSTABLE & COMPANY LTD
1919

942.042 M8
15,056

Printed in Great Britain

CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	Early Years	1
II.	Wales	12
III.	Burgundian and Armagnac	37
IV.	The Legendary and the Real Henry	60
V.	The Accession of Henry V	86
VI.	The French War	103
VII.	Harfleur	128
VIII.	Agincourt	138
IX.	Sigismund	165
X.	The Conquest of Normandy	189
XI.	The Treaty of Troyes	214
XII.	France after the Treaty of Troyes	238
XIII.	Henry in England	251
XIV.	The Last Expedition	261
XV.	The Last Days of Henry V	275
XVI.	The Work and Character of Henry V	287

APPENDICES

I.	Itinerary of Henry V	321
II.	Bibliography	325
	Index	331

ILLUSTRATIONS

Portrait of Henry V (Queen's College, Oxford) FRONTISPIECE

Henry V (Corpus Christi College, Cambridge) FACING PAGE 46

Portrait of Henry V (National Portrait Gallery) . . 98

Portrait of Henry V (Eton College) 160

How Earl Richard besieged the Town of Caen . . 202

How Earl Richard was at the Siege of Rouen . 212

How King Henry V was married to Dame Katherine of France 238

Henry V (Cotton MS., Julius E. IV. f. 8 b.) . . . 272

MAPS

Plan of Agincourt 148

Plan of Caen 198

Plan of the Town of Rouen 206

Map of France 306

HENRY V

CHAPTER I

EARLY YEARS

THE life of a medieval monarch was not an easy one. To maintain his position, he had to work hard and continuously. Although there are records of misspent time, yet on the whole the history of medieval kings is one of unremitting and sustained exertion. Whether in war or in peace their life was spent in the saddle; almost their sole diversion was the furious chase of deer; almost their sole rest before death was to attend the devotions of the Church. It was only their rude hammering that kept feudal society together; and it was only a few that did not die in what we now call the prime of life, in the midst of some rough undertaking, some task of preserving order, some military expedition.

Great responsibility cannot be given to anybody without great power. The medieval kings controlled the destinies of turbulent peoples with an iron hand. Therefore many of them had faults coming from their great power, their own lack of control. Yet gradually

they led their peoples to a condition of peace in their own borders, and to a sense of national worth abroad. And some were fortunate enough to capture the sentiments of humanity, to attract the reverence and love of their own time and succeeding ages. France has her St. Louis, the strenuous though meek and kindly king. England has her kings as heroes too, good and brave men. But the blood of the Angevins, however diluted, except in Henry VI, stopped short of saintliness. Henry V in his day was held to be the pattern of a chivalrous knight: round his name has centred the romance of medieval England; in his person Shakespeare found already expressed the glory of the Elizabethan Age, the symbol of our national aspirations. The character of Henry V has many of the faults, but all the virtues of his time; and the memory of virtues is constant; his kindness and good-fellowship; his bravery and sense of justice; his unremitting industry; his piety.

Henry of Monmouth was born in the castle of the town of that name in the west of England on 9 August, 1387, in the reign of king Richard II. Welshmen were specially pleased that a great prince was born among them.[1]

Henry of Bolingbroke, Earl of Derby, the father of young Henry of Monmouth, was the eldest surviving son of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and grandson of king Edward III. He was not a

[1] *First English Life of Henry V* (ed. C. L. Kingsford).

strong man physically, and his son, young Henry, inherited a tendency to weak health. John of Gaunt by his loose way of living shortened not, it is true, his own vigorous life, but that of his immediate descendants. The fault, however, does not wholly lie with John of Gaunt, but extends to others of the Lancastrian forbears.

Young Henry's mother was Mary de Bohun, in whom, with one sister, the line of the Earls of Hereford closed a pugnacious and glorious career. But although the brothers of Henry of Bolingbroke (excluding half-brothers) all died in infancy, and although Mary de Bohun was almost the last of her race, yet the old stocks were not exhausted. Ill-health could never break the spirit of the elder Henry; his life was noble, upright, active; though subject in his later years to some form of eczema and epilepsy, he shrank from no labour in the field or at the council-table; in his way of life he was self-restrained, sober, courteous; and when, in 1413, he laid down the crown, which he had held, if not gained, with honour, he left behind him four sons, whose talents were of the highest, and whose careers, though not long, as the span of life is counted now, were full of glory. Of these sons, Henry of Monmouth was the first-born.

The father, the elder Henry, had been married to Mary de Bohun in 1381, he being then aged fourteen, and his bride not yet twelve. She did not, however, leave her mother's house at once. On 31 January

John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, the elder Henry's father, entered into a bond to pay to Dame Bohun, Countess of Hereford, one hundred marks annually for the cost and charge of his daughter-in-law, Mary, Countess of Derby, until she should attain the age of fourteen.[1] At the age of sixteen, probably, the young bride went to live with her husband, and they fixed their establishment in Monmouth Castle, one of the possessions of John of Gaunt. There young Henry was born. But the birth of the young lord (as he is generally styled in the chronicles) had not the importance in public estimation then that was later attached to it. There is no actual contemporary record of the fact. The importance which was attached to it later, after young Henry had become great, is emphasised by many traditions which the assiduous compilers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries loved to transcribe. It is said that the elder Henry was absent when the birth occurred, and that the first man to inform him was the ferryman at Goodrich, where Henry crossed the Wye, on his rapid journey from Windsor to Monmouth. It is said further that Henry was a sickly babe (his health, indeed, was never robust), and that he was nursed, not in the castle, but in the neighbouring village of Courtfield. In any case the family did not remain long at Monmouth; they seem to have gone to London, where, within a year of the birth of young Henry, a

[1] Quoted by Tyler, *Henry of Monmouth*, I, 8 note, from the Pells Rolls.

brother was born to him, who was to be the future Duke of Clarence.[1]

About this time a group of nobles, among whom was Henry of Bolingbroke, rose successfully under the leadership of Richard II's uncle, the Duke of Gloucester, against the king and his favourites; and for a year and a half (1388–9) the crown was practically put in commission. But Richard, who with many faults was yet one of the most generous and lovable of English kings, never bore any grudge at least against the younger generation; and so Henry of Monmouth, the brilliant young heir of the great Lancastrian house, was, amid all the vicissitudes of his father, brought up under the immediate care and patronage of the crown. But he was never thought likely to be king; Richard, though childless, was still a young man (he was only thirty-three at his death), and, in any case, the prolific Earls of March were nearer to the succession.

Up to the year 1399 the elder Henry led rather a roving and adventurous life. Twice (1390 and 1392) he went on "Crusade," to Dantzig and Königsberg, and he visited Venice, Rhodes, Cyprus and Jerusalem. His wife, Mary de Bohun, died in 1394, and was buried in the "King's College" at Leicester. So the home-life of the young Henry was interrupted; and the care of him seems to have been undertaken by king Richard, and by his own uncle (Henry of Bolingbroke's half-brother), Henry Beaufort,

[1] Tyler, op. cit., I, 10–13.

afterwards Bishop of Winchester, a sagacious and magnificent ecclesiastic. But though brought within the circle of the court, Henry was too young to be misled by its temptations, too remote in the line of succession to be spoiled by flattery and attention. His education was that of a young nobleman, who was heir to great responsibilities, and he grew up as an English gentleman, dividing his time between religious exercises, field sports and studies. Until the Reformation, bishops' houses were the schools of young noblemen in Western Europe, and were each in their degree famous for the education they gave in devotion, in mental culture, and in manners. Young Henry gave himself, says the "Rhymed Verses," to the exercises of falconry, fishing, riding and walking, and to the learned councils of his elders.[1] The tradition of his skill in athletic exercises has remained current ever since. The medieval theory of a properly balanced education is to be seen in the entry among the accounts of the Duke of Lancaster of 8d. for harp-strings, 12d. for a new scabbard, and 4d. for seven books of grammar, contained in one volume, for the young Lord Henry.[2] This was when he was nine years old. His health, however, was still unsettled. One sudden and severe illness had occurred in 1395 when he was staying at Leicester, and a physician from London had to be specially brought on a horse, hired for the pur-

[1] Cole, *Memorials of Henry V* (Rolls Series), p. 6.
[2] Tyler, op. cit., I, 15–16.

pose, on 18 March, at a fee including expenses of 6s. 8d.[1]

The banishment of his father on a charge of conspiracy against Richard II in September, 1398, seems to have made no difference to the position and prospects of the young Henry. His aged grandfather, John of Gaunt, was still alive, and the right of his father and ultimately of himself to succeed to the Lancastrian estates was unquestioned. Richard II continued his patronage of Henry, who is said at this time to have been in residence at Queen's Hall (now Queen's College) in Oxford, his uncle, Henry Beaufort, in 1398, being Chancellor of the University. His rooms are said to have been in the gable (now destroyed) over the old gate of the college in Queen's Lane. Although there is no record of it in the college archives, it is not unlikely that he actually did reside there. Queen's was associated with the name of Henry's great-grandmother, Queen Philippa, wife of Edward III, and it was later under the patronage of Henry IV.[2] Henry Beaufort was himself a member of it. In the year 1411, after a period of friction between himself and his father, the prince disguised himself quaintly, and appeared before the king, carrying needles.[3] These may have been reminiscent of young Henry's connection with Queen's College,[4]

[1] *Ibid.*, 15.

[2] Rymer, *Foedera*, VIII, 675.

[3] *First English Life of King Henry V* (ed. C. L. Kingsford), 11–13; Holinshed, *Chronicles*, 539; Stowe, *Annals*, 339

[4] See Intro. to *First English Life*.

where scholars were annually presented with a threaded needle, the sign of industry and thrift. Young Henry always showed the greatest interest in Oxford ; in the same year, 1411, he mediated between the king and the University, in a dispute that had arisen about the " constitutions " or statutes drawn up for the University by Archbishop Arundel.[1] In 1421, as king, he issued a most important ordinance, providing that all matriculated students must reside in regular colleges or halls.[2] In 1418 he gave permission to the Warden and Fellows of Merton College to erect a crenellated or " embattled " tower above their gateway ;[3] to fortify any building required, of course, a royal licence ; and if Henry had lived in the old gable above Queen's gateway, he may have felt a special interest in the request of the Warden and Fellows of Merton. As, however, Henry can only have been eleven years old when he resided at Oxford, and as his residence was not probably more than six months, this episode in his life cannot be considered very important.

It is greatly to the credit of Richard II that he took so much interest in young Henry, even after the father had been exiled. The king often said that in young Henry would be revived the fame and knightly prowess of the royal house.[4] He gave the

[1] *Munimenta Academica* (Rolls Series), I, 251.

[2] *Ibid.*, 277–9.

[3] Brodrick, *Mems. of Merton College*, 311, dated 4 April from Bayeux.

[4] *First English Life*, 1.

prince a yearly income of £500, a sufficiently large sum as the value of money then stood. Young Henry accompanied Richard in the expedition to Ireland,[1] which was indirectly productive of such great results. It is possible that in taking Henry to Ireland, Richard was actuated by the desire of keeping near to his person so valuable a hostage for Bolingbroke's good behaviour.

King Richard had always taken a special interest in Ireland, and is perhaps the only old English king who ever became really popular there. In 1395, he had already made one successful sojourn there, and done much to reorganise the English dominion. In May, 1399, he undertook a second great expedition. It was Richard's policy to move in a magnificent way, with splendid forces and all the array of kingship, so that the rough Irish should be won over by the attractions of English life. So on this expedition he took among other great nobles, the young Henry, "a fair young handsome bachelor,"[2] whose delicate features, large nose, high cheek-bones,[3] combined with his natural vivacity to make him an ornament to any court. In Ireland Henry, aged just under twelve years, received the dignity of knighthood at the hands of king Richard,[4] with the words "My fair cousin, henceforth be gallant and bold, for unless you conquer, you will have little name for valour."

[1] *First English Life*, 1.

[2] Creton, *Histoire du Roy Richard*, quoted in Tyler, op. cit., I, 40.

[3] See portraits in Queen's Coll. Common-Room and National Portrait Gallery, London.

[4] Creton, loc. cit.

Meanwhile, the prince's father, Henry of Bolingbroke, was an exile living in Paris, where he had many powerful friends, the Duke of Berri and the Duke of Orleans. His father, the aged John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, had died on 3 February, 1399, and Richard had revoked the patents which he had previously granted to enable Henry, though in exile, to succeed to the Lancastrian estates. Henry had the gift of silence, and seemed to acquiesce in his fate; so Richard with a light mind had gone on the Irish expedition in May. Henry's movements were so quiet that even Froissart did not know how he came to England; but by the middle of July he was in England, having crossed from Boulogne to Ravenspur, where all Yorkshire rose to meet him. This news brought Richard back from Ireland early in August, but too late to avert the revolution which placed Henry of Bolingbroke on the throne.

Before leaving Ireland, Richard had summoned the young Henry, and reproached him with the treason of his father. But the youth met the king's suspicions frankly, being no doubt as ignorant of Bolingbroke's movements as Richard was. He was then deposited with the young Duke of Gloucester (son of Richard's uncle who was murdered at Calais) in the castle of Trim in the county of Meath.[1] If Richard could not capture the eagle, he could at least hold the eagle's brood in a fastness of far-off Ireland.

But as Bolingbroke came southwards, from York-

[1] Adam de Usk, *Chronicon*, 298.

shire, his following grew. When he reached Bristol, he is said to have been followed by 100,000 men. Richard landed in Wales, and found himself a king without a kingdom. On 19 August, the crowned king and the uncrowned met at Flint. On 2 September they arrived in London.

Bolingbroke's command was now obeyed even in Ireland; for when he sent to Trim for the delivery of his son with the other young lord there, no difficulty seems to have been found. Young Henry joined his father in London about the end of September. The royal accounts contain an entry of payment (not, however, till 1401) to a certain Henry Dryhurst of West Chester for the freightage of a ship to Dublin, for sailing there and back again, to conduct the lord the prince, the king's son, from Ireland to England.[1] Henry came safe, but the young Duke of Gloucester succumbed to a fever apparently on board the ship itself.

On 29 September, Richard resigned the crown he could no longer wear; and on the 30th parliament in Westminster Hall (which had been duly summoned in Richard's name) elected Henry to the throne which stood in the Hall conspicuously empty. Richard did not long survive his fall. He died in Pontefract Castle in Yorkshire on 14 February, 1400.

[1] Tyler, op. cit., I, 48.

CHAPTER II

WALES

YOUNG Henry when his father came to the throne was just twelve years of age. But such education as he had was almost finished: and he was soon plunged into the hard career of administration and war from which he had no rest till his death.

In the first parliament of Henry IV, on 15 October, 1399, it was announced through the chancellor, Archbishop Arundel, that the king would create his eldest son prince of Wales and also Duke of Cornwall and Earl of Chester. The investiture of the prince with these dignities took place nearly a month later, 8 November,[1] in London. Christmas was spent at Windsor in the royal castle. The king was overtired after the excitement and exertions of the accession; but the family party—king and four young sons—was rudely disturbed by the news of the conspiracy of the Earl of Rutland and some other magnates in favour of king Richard, who had not yet met his end. On 4 January, 1400, the whole family went hastily by horse to London; then, the capital being secured, the king energetically saw to the crushing of

[1] Rymer, *Foedera*, VIII, 148.

the conspiracy and rebellion of the earls : it was after this that Richard died, by violence, or starvation, which was perhaps self-imposed.

It was in the same year that the Welsh trouble arose, and brought young Henry to the principality, which was to prove such a fruitful school of government and war to him.[1] He did not, indeed, begin the work of administration at the age of thirteen ; he learnt under the tuition of experienced noblemen ; and he quickly grew to take up a man's work.

Wales at this time was a principality by itself, under the prince, who was its sovereign, assisted by his council. This was the constitution that had been assigned to it by Edward I in 1284 and in 1301.[2] There were no representative institutions : there was no parliament in Wales, nor were members from the principality summoned to the English parliament till the reign of Henry VIII. The frontier between England and Wales followed a line which ran from the strong town of Chester through a series of fortresses —Shrewsbury, Montgomery, Clun, Ludlow, Hereford, Monmouth, to Newport and the estuary of the Severn River.[3] The rough, mountainous character of this frontier made the social separation of England and Wales permanent. The country thus marked off by nature from England had undergone a peculiar

[1] The young prince is said to have been taken by his father on the short expedition to Scotland, in the summer of 1400. Monstrelet, *La Chronique*, XXXV ; Livius, *Vita Henrici Quinti*, 3.

[2] Tout, *Edward I* ("English Statesmen Series"), 113–15, 118.

[3] See map in Tout, *Pol. Hist. of England*, III.

development of its own. The bulk of it was in the hands of great Anglo-Norman lords, who ruled an alien population with all the strength of feudalism. The heads of these lordships were known as the Lords Marcher, and their combined districts were called the Welsh March. From their great castles, built with the king's licence, each lord held military and judicial power in his lordship; each levied customary dues and taxes, and acted as a petty prince or king, subject only to the king of England and the prince of Wales. Towards the prince their only obligations seem to have been the payment of the feudal incidents, "aids," "reliefs," "wardships," "marriage" and the like.

The rest of Wales, the five counties Flint, Carnarvon, Monmouth, Cardigan and Carmarthen, with the island of Anglesea, was the only part where the prince had complete power, where the common and statute law of England prevailed, where the prince appointed all officials, and where the four justices specially appointed for Wales held their circuits. Here the entire population was Welsh; and the only evidences of English occupation were the garrisons in castles such as Flint, Conway, Carnarvon, Harlech and Aberystwyth.

The great Welsh rebellion which was to be the real school of young Henry arose, not in the counties of the native Welsh, but in lands of the Lords Marcher. It was in order that they should keep the Welsh border quiet that the Lords Marcher had been

given their great privileges and their independent position. But such a policy has in every country ultimately brought Nemesis upon it. In Germany the frontier lords, the Margraves, became independent princes and destroyed the authority of the empire. So too on the Welsh March, in England, the independent lordships bred dissension and civil war, and helped to destroy the authority of the crown which they were meant to support. At a later time in the Welsh March lay the great strength of the Yorkist house—the family which brought to a bloody close the dynasty of Henry IV. And now in the early days of the same king, tumults arose in the Marcher country, and for years almost destroyed royal authority there, and defied all the resources of the crown.

The rebellion of Owen Glendower is always associated with the national aspirations of Wales. And it is true that at the height of his power Owen styled himself prince of Wales, and acted as a national sovereign. He corresponded with the kings of France and Scotland; he planned a great political and educational reorganisation of Wales; and in him seemed to be renewed all the old glories of the Cymric race, all their poetry, and all their martial vigour.

But when Owen first took up arms on the Welsh border, he had arrived at no such position. He was simply a rich landed gentleman, who had an unfortunate quarrel with one of his neighbours. In other times, such quarrels had either been settled locally,

or quelled by the forces of the crown. But the government of Henry IV had few resources; its reputation was small; and thus a merely local tumult was allowed to spread till it became a national revolt.

Owen Glendower was a landowner of Welsh descent, who lived in North Wales, in the valley of the Dee. When his troubles and his greatness came upon him he was forty-one years old, and had hitherto lived the life of a typical English gentleman. He had been originally trained in law under one of the lawyers at the courts in Westminster. He had followed Richard II in the campaign against the Scots in 1385; then, still a young man, he had been in the service of the great Earl of Arundel as an esquire; and had gone abroad with Henry of Lancaster, sharing the adventurous life of that monarch before he became king. After Henry's accession Owen might have looked forward to a life spent on his estates, with occasional journeys to the court and occasional attendance in the king's army.

Unfortunately he had a lawsuit, and could get no satisfaction. He had claims to a piece of land of which his neighbour, Lord Grey of Ruthin, was then in possession. In the rude Marcher land, each lord was apt to be a law unto himself; and Owen, as probably others of his neighbours would have done in like case, got his retainers together, and tried to force Lord Grey to give up the disputed land. A good deal of blood seems to have

been shed in the frays that ensued. When Henry IV, in the summer of 1400, made war against the Scots, Owen had been summoned to perform his feudal duties by joining the king's army. But the king is said to have sent the summons, very unwisely, through Lord Grey of Ruthin, who, as a privy councillor, may have been considered as a special representative of the king in these parts. Lord Grey apparently did not pass on the summons in good time to Owen, who thus failed to attend in the king's Scottish expedition. Thus Owen's private war with Lord Grey seemed to have a new significance of rebellion against the king. When, therefore, in the middle of September, 1400, Henry IV came in person with a small army to quell the disturbances, he found a real rebellion in progress, a desperate man to deal with, and the whole Welsh people, fired by Owen's example, rising against him. The king brought with him on this expedition young Henry, just thirteen years of age. Within one month, king Henry marched through the centre of disaffection to the Menai Straits, and then returned to London. Owen's estates were declared confiscated, and it was hoped the matter was at an end. Young Henry remained at Chester, to supervise the country, with his council, in which Lord Henry Percy, "Hotspur," was the chief figure.[1]

The weakness of the Lancastrian government is clearly seen from the fact that the rebellion of Owen,

[1] *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, I, 146, note 1.

which was originally, at any rate, a purely local affair, was allowed to spread throughout all Wales, and to endure for nine years. Henry IV, although a prince of the blood, was only a *parvenu* king. He owed his crown to the support of a few great lords, like the Percies; to the favour of the orthodox Churchmen, like Archbishop Arundel; and to the choice of the commons in parliament. But the Percies soon turned against him, and augmented his difficulties; and the older nobility, as a whole, stood aloof from him. The commons in parliament, it is true, though often complaining of the king's lack of governance, stood firmly by him; yet their financial votes were ridiculously small. And so the reign of Henry IV, a hard-working and respectable king, is nevertheless one of weakness and of a certain amount of confusion. Inside the realm, there were complaints at the time that parliamentary elections were not properly or fairly held, and that juries were not being fairly empanelled; the local administration was evidently weak. On the outposts of the kingdom, the condition of things was no better. The Narrow Seas were not guarded, and French sailors and soldiers not merely attacked the southern coast towns, but even maintained themselves with impunity for as much as a fortnight at a time in England itself. In the north, the monotonous series of raids and counter-raids continued, though it is only fair to say, that the reign previous to that of Henry IV had witnessed the same regular occurrences. On the

Welsh March, conditions were even worse, for open war raged until the year 1408, and did not entirely die out even then.

The prince of Wales, whose duty it was to suppress the Welsh difficulty, was only a boy when the war began. It is clear, then, that the early failures and inefficiency of the Lancastrian government in Wales cannot be imputed to him. It was not till 1406 that things began to mend.

For the better turn of affairs after 1406 there are several reasons. In the first place, the efforts of the hard-working king, his continual attention to business, began to show effect. In the second place, pressure on the northern border was greatly relieved by the lucky capture of the Scottish prince James, at sea, on his way to France. This capture gave Henry IV a valuable hostage, who in this same year, 1406, although a prisoner in the Tower, had become by the death of Robert III, king of Scotland. Thirdly, the recurrent madness of the French king, Charles VI, and the internecine struggle between the factions of Orleans and Burgundy which took place after the murder of the old Duke of Orleans in 1407, set Henry free from all danger on the part of France. All these strokes of fortune permitted the Lancastrian government to concentrate its attention on the difficulty of Wales. Yet all these things by themselves might not have sufficed without the growing manhood of the prince of Wales. By the year 1406 the prince, now nineteen years of age, was able to

take full control of the affairs of his principality. On 3 April, parliament petitioned the king that the prince might stay on the Welsh March continuously. The complaisant king acceded to the petition, and confirmed the prince's complete powers on 5 April. Within two years the Welsh troubles were practically at an end.

The war in Wales should be considered from four points of view : firstly, the guerilla warfare, a method for which the physical conformation of the country and the condition of the Welsh people were peculiarly suited. Secondly, there were innumerable small sieges and blockades. Tiny English garrisons were holding out in isolated castles ; sometimes castles were lost and had to be rewon after a tedious blockade. Thirdly, there were some pitched battles ; it was Owen's greatest boast after his successes in the first half of 1403 that he would meet the English in the open field. Here, however, the English were naturally superior. Fourthly, the war should be studied in relation to its external ramifications—the revolts of the Percies, and the naval assistance of the king of France. The weak point of the English scheme of operations was that it comprised no scheme of war by sea. St. George's Channel was left open to French assistance, and the English campaigns were conducted almost entirely by land.

The facts of the war, when briefly stated, explain themselves.

It was some time before the rising of Owen Glendower became general. At first it was a personal and local affair. But on 21 February, 1401, the commons told Henry IV that they now feared a general rising of Wales. The Welsh in England evidently looked forward to this, as those studying at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge were leaving for their native country; and so, too, with Welsh labourers, of whom a good number seem to have been employed in the various parts of England.[1] Henry, prince of Wales, had nominal command on the March, but the real work fell to Hotspur, Henry Percy, son of the Earl of Northumberland. The king made two expeditions, but proceeded no further than Worcester. The prince on 5 July, or shortly before, recovered Conway Castle, which had been captured by the Welsh three months before (1 April). The siege was really carried out by Percy. Henry also made a successful march through the Dee Valley, over the estates of Owen. He describes these operations in a letter to the Privy Council on 15 May:

> We took our forces and marched to a place of the said Owen, well-built, which was his principal mansion, called Saghern, where we thought we should have found him; . . . but on our arrival there, we found nobody; and therefore caused the whole place to be burnt, and several houses near it, belonging to his tenants. We thence marched straight to his other place of Glyndowrdy, to seek for him there, and we caused a fine lodge in his park

[1] *Rolls of Parl.*, III, 457.

to be destroyed by fire, and laid waste all the country around. We there halted all night, and certain of our people sallied forth into the country, and took a gentleman of the neighbourhood, who was one of the said Owen's chieftains. This person offered £500 for his ransom, to preserve his life, and to be allowed two weeks for the purpose of raising that sum of money. But the offer was not accepted, and he received death, as did several of his companions who were taken the same day. We then proceeded to the Commote of Edeyrnion in Merionethshire, and there laid waste a fine and populous country. Thence we went to Powys, and there being a want of provender in Wales for horses, we made our people carry oats with them, and pursued our march.[1]

But Owen himself was not enticed into the open field. His masterly guerilla tactics made it exceedingly difficult for isolated garrisons to maintain themselves. Harlech was now actually besieged by him. In October the hard-working king himself had to come to Wales, to lead a small army through the north of the principality to Anglesea, strengthening all the garrisons of the neighbourhood. Owen, however, after the king had gone back to London, did very well through the winter, and added greatly to his forces. Scottish ships on the Welsh coast kept him in touch with the outside world.[2]

Next year (1402) Owen did even better. On 30 January, he met his personal enemy, Lord Grey

[1] Ellis, *Original Letters* (Second Series), I, 10–13 (from the French); *Proc. of Privy Council*, II, 61. (The editor refers this letter to the next year, 1402.)

[2] *Proceedings of Privy Council*, I, 153.

of Ruthin, and defeated the Marcher force, and a month later was more successful still, actually taking Grey prisoner. It cost Lord Grey about £7000 to regain his freedom.[1] Meanwhile another Marcher lord, Sir Edmund Mortimer, of the great family of the Earls of March, was defeated and captured in Radnorshire.[2]

The weakness of the English government is apparent. Much of the fighting had to be left to the Marcher lords with their local forces. Now the family of Mortimer, owning great estates round Ludlow, was of doubtful loyalty. Their head, the Earl of March, had been declared heir to the crown by Richard II. In later years, through a momentous marriage, they became known as the house of York, and dethroned the Lancastrian dynasty.

It had been remarked that in the early stages of the rising, the estates of Sir Edmund had never been harried by the rebels. And now that he was captured, voices were raised to say that he had not altogether unwittingly led his small forces to defeat. Anyhow he soon became reconciled to Owen, and married a daughter of the chief.[3] The king forbade any ransom to be sent for Mortimer on the ground that money must not go to the Welsh rebels. Accordingly, on 13 December, Mortimer wrote to his tenants that he now renounced Henry, and was joining Owen to

[1] Holinshed, op. cit., 519; *Rolls of Parl.*, III, 487.
[2] Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, II, 250.
[3] Walsingham, op. cit., II, 253–4.

proclaim Richard II, or failing him, the Earl of March.[1]

In August, the king had come to Wales. He divided his forces into three independent units, keeping one to himself, giving another to the Earl of Arundel, and the third to prince Henry. None of these forces succeeded in meeting the enemy. For the weather had broken and storms of rain, hail and even snow frustrated all the efforts of the army. These storms were believed to be due to Owen's magic and diabolical arts.[2]

The campaign lasted less than six weeks. Meanwhile the Scots, acting on an understanding with Owen, had invaded the north of England, but had suffered a severe defeat, mainly due to the Earl of Northumberland, at Homildon Hill, near the river Till, on 14 September.

The year 1403 brought the greatest crisis of the reign of Henry IV, when Owen, Mortimer, and even the Percies, the kingmakers, joined in arms against the Lancastrian house.

The reasons for the rebellion of the Percies are difficult to see. To them had been largely due Henry's accession to the throne ; and in return both father and son had been loaded with honours and offices. But their duties entailed heavy expenses ; and payment from the central government was always in arrear. The representatives of English power on

[1] Ellis, *Original Letters* (Second Series), 24–6.
[2] Walsingham, op. cit., II, 250–1.

the frontiers were in much the same position as commanders of the outlying posts of the modern Turkish empire. They had to maintain their forces for months without remittances from the central government, and when remittances came, they were speedily absorbed in paying old debts. Yet the Percies had fared better than most, in the matter of payment. It has been calculated that between 1399 and 1403 they received from Henry IV sums amounting to £41,750.[1] Even the prince of Wales had not been treated like this, and had to pawn his jewels in order to pay his forces.[2]

The Earl of Northumberland was Constable of England, and his son, Hotspur, besides being Justiciar of North Wales and Constable of the castles of Chester, Flint, Conway, Carnarvon, was also Warden of the East March on the Scottish Border. In this latter capacity, he had taken a great part in the victory of Homildon Hill, and had captured the Scottish Earl of Douglas. The king ordered that the Scottish prisoners should be sent to London. But Hotspur refused: noble prisoners were much too valuable an asset to be parted with lightly in those days. And as the Scots were still threatening, the Percies kept their great forces still in the field. The king did not like the look of things, and on 10 July ordered Hotspur back to his post in Wales.[3] But by this

[1] Ramsay, *Lancaster and York*, I, 57. But see *Proc. of Privy Council*, I, 152, for the personal expenditure which Henry Percy had to bear.

[2] *Proc. of Privy Council*, II, 62–3.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, 206.

time the Percies were already on the march. On the 9th, Hotspur in full force entered the Earldom of Chester, where the influence of Richard II had been so strong; and the three great Percies, the Earl of Northumberland, his brother the Earl of Worcester, and his son, Hotspur, sent a formal defiance to "Henry of Lancaster."

From Chester the Percy army marched southwards apparently gathering forces as it went, till it reached Shrewsbury on 21 July. Here they found themselves forestalled by the king, who had passed quickly through the Midlands with what forces he could raise, and thrown himself into Shrewsbury on 20 July, after having accomplished a march of forty-five miles from Lichfield on the same day. He had with him prince Henry, whose governor, Sir Thomas Percy, Earl of Worcester, was with the rebel army outside Shrewsbury. From this time the prince stands by himself without a guardian. And very appropriately he signalised this enfranchisement by personally taking part in the battle which immediately followed, by leading a complete division of the army.

The battle took place on the same day as Hotspur appeared outside Shrewsbury, 21 July. Various estimates are given of the numbers on either side, varying from 40,000 to 80,000.[1] The king's forces seem to have been about the same as those of the enemy. It is certain, however, that the numbers

[1] Walsingham, op. cit., II, 257; Waurin, *Recueil des croniques et anchiennes istories de la Grant Bretaigne* (Translated Rolls Series), II, 60.

given are too large, and it is unlikely, if one considers the dimensions of the battle-field, that more than 5000 were engaged on either side.[1]

On the rebels' side the leaders were Hotspur and his uncle, the Earl of Worcester, and the Scottish Earl of Douglas. The Earl of Northumberland was still in the north of England. Many Welshmen are said to have been present, but not Owen Glendower.

Hotspur had fallen back from before Shrewsbury along the north road till he came to a low hill to the west of the road. Here he took up his position on the "Hayteley Field."[2] In front on the slope of the hill was a field of peas; and just in front of this a number of ponds. Hotspur had the advantage of possessing a useful force of archers from the Earldom of Chester, which formerly had supplied Richard II with his archer bodyguard. These he posted in front of his main force, to shoot down the gradual slope. The king had divided his forces into four portions, giving the left to the prince and taking the right himself.

The battle began with the archers on both sides. In this method of fighting the rebels proved superior; and the prince who was waiting for a chance to get at the enemy under cover of his archers was wounded by an arrow in the face. He bore his wound, however, with the utmost constancy, and refused to

[1] This has been pointed out by Sir James Ramsay, op. cit., I, 64; Holinshed, op. cit., 523, says the rebels had 14,000 men.

[2] Adam de Usk, op. cit., 252–3, gives Berwick, a village two miles from Shrewsbury, as the region where the battle was fought.

leave the field.[1] Then the main advance commenced; the king on the right of the ponds, the prince on the left. The advance was completely successful. The prince charged on horseback with his men-at-arms, horse and foot, up the slope and shattered the enemy's right, which fell back only to be met by the king's division, which was successfully contending against the enemy's left. It is not known how much time the battle occupied; but the mêlée at the top of the hill on the Hayteley Field seems to have been maintained long and desperately. At last the battle was completely won—the worst battle "since the conquest of Duke William"[2] in England—and the first, as it might be called, of the Wars of the Roses. Among the killed was Hotspur. Within a fortnight after the battle, the king was up in the north of England seeing to what remained of the rebellion there.

Shrewsbury was a great victory for the king, and a great honour for the prince, his son. But its practical results were very little. Owen's cause still stood high. He was about this time busy in South Wales, and had already gained a notable success in the capture of Carmarthen (6 July); but when he tried to extend his power over Glamorganshire, he received a severe defeat at the hands of Lord Carew, the English commander in South Wales.[3] But Owen

[1] "Elmham," *Vita et gesta Henrici V*, 7–8.

[2] Waurin, op. cit., 62.

[3] See Ramsay, op. cit., I, 65, note 4. The Welsh had been helped by a French expedition. Adam de Usk, op. cit., 255.

himself escaped with a good part of his men. Although the king came down again from the north of England with an army to Worcester on 2 September, his attempt to follow up the victory of Shrewsbury was very partially carried out, "for he had no money to conduct the expedition."[1] However, he re-established the English garrisons in Carmarthen, and then turned back to attend to the other affairs of his kingdom. The old Earl of Northumberland still troubled the realm; he could not at present openly maintain a war with the king, but he had plenty of sympathisers. When arraigned for his rebellion before the house of Lords, he was found by the peers to be guilty not of treason, but only of "trespass."[2]

The cause of Owen continued to prosper for one more year. But young Henry, the prince, was now rapidly maturing; and the conduct of the war which till now had been carried on practically only in his name, was taken up personally by him. The prince grew up as a keen, active soldier, and gradually he wore down all opposition. But success was attained only by years of patient effort. Throughout 1404 some of the great castles in English hands, Carnarvon, Harlech, Aberystwith, Cardigan, were blockaded by the Welsh and their French auxiliaries, who gave assistance from their ships on the sea. Owen's pretensions seemed likely to be fulfilled. On 4 May, he issued a proclamation

[1] Walsingham, op. cit., II, 259.
[2] *Rolls of Parl.*, III, 525.

to summon a Welsh parliament, "in the fourth year of our principate."[1] On 14 June, a treaty was signed at Paris between his representative and the French Government, for mutual alliance and common war against "Henry of Lancaster." Owen even began to cross the Welsh border, and make raids in Herefordshire; and young Henry on the March was hard put to it to keep him in check.[2]

So high did Owen's fortunes stand, that in February, 1405, he made a new arrangement with Sir Edmund Mortimer who was still with him, and the Earl of Northumberland who was still free and at large in England. According to this famous tripartite convention, the English realm was to be divided among the three, Owen getting for his share all Wales, the Earl of Northumberland getting the twelve northern counties, and Sir Edmund Mortimer all the rest.

But the young Henry, now aged seventeen, was still at his post, aided by able lieutenants, and still taking every opportunity that offered itself of dealing a blow at his redoubtable adversary. On 11 March, the Lord Talbot won a notable victory over Owen's men at Grosmont, and captured one of Owen's sons. But the prince could not prevent Owen, with French aid, from again capturing Carmarthen. However, the tripartite convention of Owen with Mortimer and Northumberland came to nothing, for king Henry

[1] Rymer, *Foedera*, VIII, 356; Adam de Usk, op. cit., 257
[2] *Proc. of Privy Council*, I, 223–5, 229–31.

got the better of the northern rebels, and although Northumberland still escaped his fate, his coadjutor, Archbishop Scrope, was, despite his holy office, beheaded outside York.

The English found difficulties in maintaining war in Wales throughout the winter of 1406; so that whatever Owen lost in the summer he was apt to regain in the latter part of the year. To the king it was largely a question of expense; it was too dear to fight in winter. But the parliament which met in March of this year, at Westminster, earnestly petitioned that the prince might be kept continually in the Welsh March, carrying on the war (3 April).[1] Young Henry's commission had just run out; but after this expression of parliament's confidence in his son's powers, the king at once renewed it; and on 5 April, prince Henry was reappointed Lieutenant of Wales. Lieutenant in those days had a very wide meaning—"locum tenens," or vicegerent. The act was auspicious, for on 23 April, Owen's forces again suffered defeat, and another son was captured. Henry, aged nineteen, was now coming into his full powers.

Next year (1407) the war was carried on with continued vigour and tenacity. The operations do not show any striking success. In fact there was one particular failure, for Aberystwith which had been surrendered by the Welsh to the king's cousin, the Duke of York, was lost again shortly after. Yet the

[1] *Rolls of Parl.*, III, 569.

parliament of the same year which sat at Gloucester from 20 October, passed a special vote of thanks to the prince for his services in Wales. In the same parliament they took away one of the immunities enjoyed by men in the March: the privilege by which a tenant found guilty of felony could escape the consequences of his misdeed by transferring his allegiance to another lord and paying an annual fine of 4d.[1] The object of this curious privilege was, no doubt, to keep up the number of strong fighters in the March, who would have been greatly diminished if their felonies had always been requited with death. That this privilege could be safely removed shows that the power of the central government as represented by the prince Henry was now much stronger and more effective.

The year 1408 practically ends the Welsh trouble. The central event is the siege and capture of Aberystwith by prince Henry. When that was accomplished, the end of all was in sight. It is true that fighting languished on and that Owen remained untaken, dying as he had lived a free and independent man.[2] But prince Henry's part in the war was done. All the great strongholds were again in English hands with the exception of Harlech, which was captured in February, 1409. Except in the more remote districts, the English power prevailed and was accepted. Not that perfect order was main-

[1] *Rolls of Parl.*, III, 615; Ramsay, op. cit., I, 110.
[2] Adam de Usk, op. cit., 313.

tained, for as late as 1411, parliament complained that property was not safe on the Welsh March. But things now were probably not worse than they had been before the war. It was not till Edward IV established his special Council of Wales that peace on the Welsh March began to be as good as in England.

Aberystwith and Harlech, the last castles to hold out for Owen Glendower, were places of great strength, as, indeed, were all the Welsh castles, ever since Edward I had given his attention to their fortification. In 1408 both castles were in the hands of Owen's supporters, though Owen himself was in neither. Aberystwith, in the same year, the summer of 1408, had already been once taken by prince Henry, and retaken by Owen's men, through treachery, it is said.[1] When prince Henry in the autumn drew his lines around it again, he employed all the science of siege-work then known,[2] a knowledge which he was still further to apply in his wars in France. By the end of the year the castle had yielded. Harlech, which was held by the traitor, Sir Edmund Mortimer, stood out a few weeks longer, but surrendered as Mortimer died in the course of the siege.[3]

The government of king Henry had now triumphed over all difficulties. Old Northumberland and Lord Bardolf had made their last attempt upon the Lancastrian power, but had met their fate at the hands of Sir Thomas Rokeby, the sheriff of Yorkshire, at

[1] Walsingham, op. cit., II, 277. [2] "Elmham," op. cit., 9–10.
[3] Adam de Usk, op. cit., 246–7.

Bramham Moor, on 19 February, 1408. This put an end to troubles in the north.

Thus, in the same year, the Lancastrian government got quit practically of two sores, one in the north and one in Wales. Owen, it is true, still lived on unconquered till his death, which is said to have occurred in 1415, in the third year of the reign of Henry V. Some say his life went out through want and starvation in the mountain fastnesses that hid him.[1] At any rate, we know that his power was gone after 1408. His courage amid misfortunes made Owen a real hero. His schemes were all on the grand scale; Wales was to have two universities, a parliament, and all the offices of an organised government. The Welsh bishops believed in him; he roused the national spirit, and his active life coincided with an astonishing revival of Welsh song and literature. He held up his head with the princes of France and Scotland, and shared the councils of the great rebel nobles of England. But he could not hold his own in time against the Lancastrian government, which, though hampered by incessant war, had a large reserve of latent strength. King Henry IV, old before his time, an invalid at forty-two, had courage, pertinacity, and good sense, and remained cool amid troubles from every side. His attention was frequently diverted from Wales, but he never lost sight of the question, and though his purse was empty, he had always England behind him.

[1] "Elmham," op. cit., 10; Adam de Usk, op. cit., 313.

Moreover, he had his vigorous, high-spirited sons. It is an interesting picture—the sad, unhealthy king, never at rest, bearing everything with constant courage, surrounded by four sons, full of spirit and the clamant assertiveness of youth. There was Henry, the prince of Wales, aged twenty-one, the tried soldier, the successful commander of the Welsh war. His health, weak in boyhood, seemed now re-established by five years' campaigning in Wales. The years had been divided for him into six or eight months on the March, and four or five months in London. Fresh from his work in the west, he would come back to London in the fall of the year full of life and energy, anticipating new pleasure and excitement in the capital.[1] Everyone liked the handsome young soldier, with his pale face and energetic bearing, his love of sport, and his aptitude for work. During his vacations from the March, attendance in council and parliament gave him enough to do, but now that the Welsh war was over for him, he lacked an outlet for his energy. The king might be intermittently ill, but he still meant to keep the reins of government in his hands ; he was still eminently capable. Having got through his political troubles at last, he naturally did not wish to give up the command of the ship, now when he had steered her into quieter waters. Unfortunately young Henry would not wait, and soon began to make some trouble in the capital.

The second son of the king was Thomas, a soldier

[1] " Elmham," op. cit., 12–13.

too, and a sea-captain, who had lately commanded the squadron whose duty was to guard the northern sea. Thomas was not the ablest of the Lancastrians, but he was a loyal man who worked for his older brother till he met his death in France at the disastrous battle of Beaugé. Third in the family came John, known and loved later as John Duke of Bedford, the hero, soldier, statesman, who after the death of his eldest brother, Henry V, so nobly carried on the regency for the young minor king, his nephew, Henry VI. At this time John was seventeen years old. Finally, two years younger, came Humphrey, the evil genius of the family, clever, restless, insatiable; interested in everything; denying himself nothing; in whom at a later day seem to have been concentrated all the results of the evil-living (combined with his own) of his grandfather, the famous John of Gaunt.

CHAPTER III

1408–1413

BURGUNDIAN AND ARMAGNAC

PRINCE HENRY was now quit of the Welsh war, and was back with his father in London. A man of his active mind and body, used to all the manly conditions of camp-life, could hardly be expected to remain idle in London or at Windsor.

The king, though only forty-two years of age, had very delicate health. In the spring of 1408, on returning from the north, where he had been meting out justice to the rebel followers of Northumberland, he was seized with an epileptic fit at Mortlake. He was a strenuous worker, but bouts of illness often interrupted his periods of work; and at such time the duties of government naturally fell upon prince Henry.

The prince had for years been a member of the Privy Council, and during his recesses from the Welsh war, had taken his place at the board. Now that he was home for good from the war, his attendances seem to have become quite regular.

In later years, stories became current that the king resented the active part which his son took in

home affairs; while other stories arose of the prince having led a wild and dissolute life in the capital. These two views are not altogether inconsistent; but on the other hand, they can hardly both be entirely true. It would be difficult for the same man to be constant at the Council-table, a keen debater, a close student of affairs, with a party of his own, and a policy of his own, and also at the same time to be a dissolute youth, a roysterer, a mohawk, a man of low companions, whose delight was in boisterous jokes. His interest in affairs, however, is known and proved, in actual contemporary references, in the proceedings of the Privy Council and elsewhere. All the stories of dissipation arose at a later date.

Beyond this statement of the case it is impossible to go. The records of the Privy Council show that the prince was keenly interested in matters of government, and that he took an active part in public business. So much is certain. Alongside of this known fact, there is a tradition as old as his earliest biographer, that the prince's life was not all that might be desired before he came to the throne.[1] This may be so. It is not altogether unlikely that this vigorous young soldier, when he came home each year from Wales to spend the winter near London, after months in the field, should sow some wild oats. "He strove at the service of Venus, as of Mars."[2] But there is no known specific instance.

[1] "Elmham," op. cit.
[2] *Ibid.*

And there the question must be left. It is not of paramount importance; his permanent character, the character with which he lived and died as king, is that of a just and virtuous man.

It is not even certain how far the prince's relations towards his father became strained. The king, in spite of feeble health, liked his work, and was determined never to abandon it, till death took it from him. So when the king was ill, the prince was at the head of affairs; but when the king became well again, the prince was immediately reduced to the second place. This alternation of position might give people the impression that there was a sort of rivalry between father and son. There is some indication that one party in the state would have liked to see the infirm king abdicate, and give the reins of government into the hands of his very capable son. The Beauforts, a family that from first to last was entirely loyal to the Lancastrians, may have felt that the abdication of the melancholy invalid and the accession of the popular prince would strengthen and completely establish the dynasty. If a hint of abdication in favour of the prince was offered to the king, it is not unlikely that the father, rendered fretful by disease, would consider that his son inspired the hint, as indeed he certainly openly favoured the party which made it. The prince advocated a different line of foreign policy from the king; but each had a right to his opinion. On one occasion the prince did wrong, for like Lord Palmerston in later

days, he sent off an unauthorised dispatch (and also an unauthorised expedition). But the king soon asserted himself and set this right, and the prince was thus, as it were, publicly snubbed. In this there is nothing surprising. Young men often feel that they know better than their elders; the prince tried to put his own ideas in force and was very properly checked by his father. It is not likely that they loved each other less in the end for this. The elder Henry was in later life an austere man; and the younger Henry did not carry his heart on his sleeve either. That the father and son did not fall on each other's neck is no proof that they did not like each other. There was really no lack of mutual respect, as is shown by an episode of the year 1411, when the king in response to a request of the prince showed unexpected leniency to the University of Oxford.[1]

The friends of the prince, as they appear in the authentic chronicles of the period, were the Beauforts. From first to last the fortunes of this family were linked with those of the Lancastrians; they saw the accession of the dynasty to the throne in 1399, and it was the last male Beaufort that led the Lancastrian forces on the fatal field of Tewkesbury in 1471. From Henry, the great Bishop of Winchester, the wise and prudent counsellor, whose long career embraced the rise of Henry IV, the glories of Henry V, and the waning fortunes of Henry VI (he died in 1447), to Edmund, whose last act, ere he left

[1] *Munimenta Academica* (Rolls Series), I, 251.

the stricken field of Tewkesbury, was to cleave with his battle-axe the head of Lord Wenlock whose tardiness, he believed, had ruined the day—all were faithful.

The family sprang from the union of John of Gaunt and Catherine Roelt, a lady of Hainault, widow of Sir Hugh Swynford who died in 1372. John of Gaunt was the third son of Edward III. He was thrice married, firstly, in 1359, to Blanche, heiress of the duchy of Lancaster, who died in 1369, leaving four children, three girls and one son, afterwards king Henry IV. His second wife, married in 1372, was Constance of Castile, who died in 1394, leaving one daughter, Catherine, afterwards Queen-Consort of Castile. His third wife had been his mistress for over twenty years (their first child was born in 1375), and was married to him in 1396, a little more than two years before his death.

Catherine's children by John of Gaunt were, John, afterwards Earl of Somerset, born in 1375, Henry, afterwards Bishop of Winchester, Thomas, afterwards Earl of Dorset, and Joan who was married twice, first to Lord Ferrers, and secondly to Ralph Neville. By acts of parliament in 1397 and 1407, the family, though born before their mother's marriage with John of Gaunt, were declared to be legitimate. They were, however, by a condition contained in the second statute, debarred from any possibility of succeeding to the throne. On being legitimated, they took the name of Beaufort, which was a castle

in Anjou, granted to John of Gaunt after Edward the third's French conquests. The first Beauforts were thus half-brothers of Henry IV, a quasi-royal house, whose fortunes were closely bound up with those of the reigning family, but whose position, though high, was such, by the circumstances of their birth and by their statutory limitation, that they could never be tempted to aim at the crown. Their position depended upon the position of the Lancastrians; they stood or fell with the dynasty.

Thus by inclination and by interest the Beauforts were loyal; their history throughout was entirely honourable; a useful, hard-working family of the high nobility, admitted to the inner councils of the crown.

In the latter years of king Henry IV, the Beauforts were specially connected with the prince. Henry Beaufort had been made Bishop of Lincoln by Richard II in 1398, when only twenty-one years old; after the accession of king Henry IV, he acted as tutor to the prince; in 1404 he was translated to Winchester, on the death of William of Wykeham. Although he resigned his political position of chancellor at the same time, he retained a great interest in public affairs, and when prince Henry came back from the Welsh wars, the bishop was one of his most constant friends and counsellors.

Gradually two parties formed in the Privy Council. The king very naturally meant to keep affairs in his own hands, intending to go his own way, and was

steadfastly supported by the chancellor, Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury. This vigorous prelate, now (1408) fifty-five years old, had been one of the chief instruments in raising Henry of Lancaster to the throne; he had supported Henry as a chosen vessel to heal the diseases of the Church, and to put down Lollardy. He was an active statesman, though it is chiefly for his zeal against the Lollards that he is remembered.

The Archbishop was an old man as age was reckoned in those days, and he looked to the past, and was glad enough to maintain the present conditions of government. But the Beauforts looked to the future. They saw that the brilliant and popular prince who might succeed to the crown at any moment, had a firm line of policy of his own; and they took their stand by the prince. In this they were joined by the young Earl of Arundel, the nephew of the Archbishop, a man of twenty-eight, who had fought with the prince in the Welsh war. The question which divided the Council was that of the Burgundians and the Armagnacs, the civil war between whom forms a sad chapter in the history of France, being a record of murders and treasons. The policy of creating appanages, adopted by several of the French kings, was fatal to the unity of the monarchy. The most dangerous appanage of all was Burgundy. In 1363 the good king John of France had given Burgundy, with full hereditary rights, to his fourth son, Philip, "Le Hardi." Philip by his marriage and by his

politic acts added greatly to his lordships, and at his death handed on to his son, Duke John, "Sans Peur," dominions which stretched from the Scheldt and the Ardennes to the Saône and the Jura. All this was held in full sovereignty, save only for the tie of feudal allegiance to the French crown.

In 1392 the reigning king, Charles VI, became mad, and for the rest of his life his madness was intermittent. From this time control of the royal government was a point of contention among the princes of the blood. On the one hand, was Louis, Duke of Orleans, brother of Charles VI; on the other, was Philip, Duke of Burgundy, first cousin to the king. Each prince from time to time appeared in Paris with large forces, but civil war had not actually broken out, when Philip the Bold died in his castle of Halle in Brabant in 1404. His son, John, "Sans Peur," was a man of a very different stamp, and civil war was not long in appearing.

In 1405 the Duke of Burgundy gained the reputation of being a champion of the lower classes, by protesting against a tax imposed by the council on the initiative of Duke Louis of Orleans. Orleans was forced to give up the reins of government to Burgundy. Louis then withdrew from Paris, only to return with a large force to besiege it. Peace, however, was arranged between the two dukes by one of the mad king's brothers; and on 20 November, 1407, the rivals received the sacrament together in the church of the Augustins in Paris. Three days later the Duke

of Orleans was murdered near the Porte Barbette. Duke John of Burgundy at first disclaimed any implication in the murder, but not long afterwards avowed it. His conduct was generally approved by the populace of the capital, and it was not long before he became for a time practically dictator of France.[1]

But the rival party soon raised its head, under the nominal leadership of Charles, Duke of Orleans, son of the murdered Louis. Charles, when a youth of fifteen (1406), had married his cousin, Isabella, widow of the English king Richard II. She died in 1409, and next year he married Bonne, daughter of Bernard VII, Count of Armagnac in Gascony, one of the greatest noblemen in France. Armagnac, though included in 1360 in English Gascony, was not now in the area of English control. The family had been one of the first to make onslaughts on the power which England had gained at the Treaty of Bretigny. Under Count Bernard, a wise leader and brilliant soldier, the Orleanist party, under the name of Armagnacs, again became strong. Duke Charles was not a very vigorous man, and is now chiefly notable for the graceful poems which he made at a later day when captive in England, and which are the harbingers of the glories of Villon and the other poets who grew up in the later period of the Hundred Years' War. But Bernard of Armagnac by his wealth and ability was able to keep the rival factions in at least a state of equilibrium.

[1] Waurin, *Recueil des croniques*, 113 ff.

Each party, therefore, wanted some decisive authority which should give the preponderance to the chosen cause. The mad king, Charles, though in his lucid intervals he manfully did his best, was unable to be a continuous and decisive arbiter. Accordingly the parties looked to some external power, and mutually fixed on England. It was over this point the king, Henry IV, and the prince of Wales differed; they were each ready enough to make an alliance with one of the parties, and to fish in the troubled waters of France. But the king favoured the Orleanist interest, and the prince the Burgundian.

So far as England was concerned nothing definite happened till 1411. Meanwhile the prince was steadily gaining influence at home. He was taking a prominent part in the Council; and early in the year 1409 he was made Warden of the Cinque Ports and Constable of Dover. The salary due to him for these posts was £300 a year, a considerable sum for those days, which must be set off against the out-of-pocket payments of the prince in the Welsh war. It was thought that a wife should now be found for him—not the first time this question had arisen. Catherine,[1] daughter of Charles VI of France, was suggested, as a year's truce was being made with that country. But nothing came of the suggestion for the present.

The prince had a lifelong interest in the University of Oxford. In this year he had to champion it, or a part of it, against Archbishop Arundel. In January,

[1] Rymer, *Foedera*, VIII, 571, 585, 593, 599.

Photo, W. F. Dunn

HENRY V
Corpus Christi College, Cambridge

CITY OF WESTMINSTER
PUBLIC LIBRARIES

1408, at a provincial synod at St. Paul's, the Archbishop obtained the re-enactment of some constitutions or ecclesiastical decrees against Lollards. These decrees had been resisted in Oxford, even by men who were not Lollards. After the re-enactment of the decrees, they were still resisted at Oxford, where Lollardy had never been stamped out, in spite of the expulsion of Wycliffe twenty-seven years earlier. The prince backed up his old University; the Archbishop's constitutions still remained a dead letter there. It has been suggested[1] that the prince adopted this attitude merely because in general politics he was opposed to the Archbishop. He certainly was never an upholder of Lollardy in general. But the truth is that the prince never was a great persecutor of Lollards, except when they were mixed up with political rebellion; and at no time, as may be seen from his later actions towards the alien priories, was he a blind supporter of the Church.

This opposition was felt as a severe rebuff by the Archbishop, and he resigned his position as chancellor of the kingdom.[2] Sir Thomas Beaufort was then appointed chancellor, and it is to be noticed that all the members of this family, while undoubtedly faithful to the king, were particularly in the interest of the prince of Wales. For the next two years, throughout 1410 and 1411, the prince, owing to the ill-health of his father, took the leading part in all

[1] Ramsay, *Lancaster and York*, I, 123.

[2] Arundel's resignation was on 21 December, 1409.

affairs of government. He held at home the position of president of the Council, and on the death of John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset, was also appointed Captain of Calais abroad (18 March, 1410). The Captaincy of Calais was considered in the fifteenth century to be the highest position under the crown. The prince, however, did not go to Calais for another month. He never spent any long period continuously there, but went backwards and forwards between London and Calais, at one time looking after the garrison in France, at another time presiding in the Council in London.

During this year (1410), the prince's residence was Coldharbour, in Eastcheap, described by Stow as a "right fair and stately house." It had come to king Henry IV from his wife, whose father, Humphrey de Bohun, held it from the citizen family of Poultney, on condition of presenting a rose at Midsummer, if demanded.[1] This house was the prince's London residence, apparently from the beginning of the year; and on 18 March, the king granted it to him for life.[2] Its site is now occupied by the Heralds' college.

It was just before his appointment to Calais that the famous episode of the burning of John Badby occurred. Badby was a smith,[3] of Evesham, who, in January, 1409, had been tried and found guilty of heresy by the diocesan court of Worcester. On

[1] Tyler, *Henry of Monmouth*, I, 258.
[2] Calendar of the Patent Rolls (1408–13), 172.
[3] Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, II, 283.

1 and 30 March, 1410, he was again examined and found guilty before Convocation in London.

He affirmed his belief in God and the Trinity ; but he did not believe that the priest's blessing could make the Lord's body, for if so there would be 20,000 Gods in England.[1] Having been found guilty by the ecclesiastics he was given up to be burned by the secular authority at Smithfield, under the statute of Henry IV, " de heretico comburendo." The prince was present at the burning, but he used his power so far as he could on the side of mercy ; when the fire was burning, and the agonies of the poor man became terrible, the prince commanded that the fire be withdrawn, came to him, and offered a pension of 3d. a day to him, if he would recant.[2] But Badby was constant, and the prince had to let the law take its course.

While the prince had his residence in Coldharbour, there is mention in the chronicle of London of frays and horse-play in the streets by night. But only the king's sons, Thomas and John, are mentioned by name ; and as the chronicler did not mind naming these it is not likely that he would have scrupled to use the name of the prince too, had Henry been implicated.[3] On the other hand, the story that the prince " would wait in disguised array for his own receivers, and distresse them of their money " can

[1] Ramsay, op. cit., I, 125.
[2] Walsingham, op. cit., II, 282.
[3] *Chronicle of London* (ed. Nicolas), 93.

be traced back nearly to the prince's lifetime.[1] It is added that these receivers were not held responsible by the prince for the money thus taken, but that it was allowed to them in their accounts. At this time the whole revenue of the prince was about £3000 a year, derived mainly from estates and dues in Cornwall. The story of the prince's arrest by Chief Justice Gascoigne, which first appears 120 years afterwards, is now considered to be referable, if at all, not to the fifteenth century, but to the end of the thirteenth, when Edward I had great trouble with his son.[2]

All this time the financial condition of the prince was not good. The accounts of the prince's household,[3] from October, 1410, to March, 1413, give receipts at £17,253. But £6850 was due to creditors. It is not possible to ascertain how much of these debts was due to personal extravagance, and how much to the private payments of the prince, when in Wales, towards the upkeep of his forces. These payments which were for public purposes and ought to have come out of the public purse are known to have been large.

In 1411 the question about English help to Burgundian or Armagnac became acute. Each party

[1] The story is alluded to in Redmayne's *History of Henry V*, 11. Redmayne probably wrote about the year 1540. See Editor's Preface, x. It is given fully in the *First English Life* of 1513, on the authority of the Earl of Ormonde (1392–1452). See edition by Kingsford, p. 17.

[2] Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, III, 78–9; Ramsay, op. cit., I, 127, note 1.

[3] Given in Ramsay, op. cit., I, 126, note 6.

was asking for English help. The king was not loath to give it on certain terms. On the whole he now leant towards the Burgundian faction, as there had been a coolness between him and the Orleans family for some years. Louis, Duke of Orleans, had supported the Pseudo-Richard. Moreover, England's trade with Flanders was valuable, and the frugal Henry would be unwilling to offend the lord of that rich country. A proposal from the Duke of Burgundy that his eldest daughter should marry prince Henry was favourably received, though nothing came of it. So the king deputed the Earl of Arundel,[1] who was a friend of the prince, to negotiate with Burgundy, but not to conclude any definite treaty without referring back to the king. It was at this point that the prince intervened,[2] using his authority as president of the Council to collect a force of 1200 soldiers, and send them off to France with Arundel as leader.[3]

This action of the prince has been greatly criticised, and is believed to have brought about a certain coolness between himself and the king. Certainly the prince seems to have gone much further than his father intended. It may have been merely an error of judgment. He may have thought that the king, while wishing to appear neutral, would not be averse from a show of force, so long as it did not come directly from himself. Monarchs have on other

[1] *Proc. of Privy Council*, II, 20.
[2] *Chronicle of London*, 93; Hardyng, *Chronicle*, 369.
[3] This was on 3 September, 1411.

occasions given instructions which mean more than is carried on the face of them. If the king had not meant something like this, it is curious that he did not stop the expedition before it started. Troops and ships can hardly be mobilised without the knowledge of the sovereign, especially when the sovereign is an alert man, as Henry IV usually was. It is possible, however, that the king had one of his attacks of illness at the time, though nothing is said of such a thing in the sources of the period. Anyhow, the prince's action, though crowned with success, met later with the emphatic disapproval of his father.

This expedition drawn out of obscurity, and shown to be the beginning of a portentous period for England, is a prelude to the great campaign of Agincourt. It showed the English how successful they might be, if they landed a well-equipped, although perhaps small army in France. The force of 1200 men, with the Earl of Arundel and certain English knights, including prince Henry's friend, the famous Sir John Oldcastle, landed at Sluys.[1] The Englishmen made their way to Paris, which was partly held by the Duke of Burgundy. The Orleanists were posted in Montmartre and St. Cloud ; but with the assistance of the English the Duke of Burgundy was able to drive them out altogether, on 30 October, 1411. Ten days later a regular battle was fought at St. Cloud,

[1] Holinshed, op. cit., 537 ; cp. Walsingham, op. cit., II, 286.

and again the English signalised themselves.[1] St. Cloud was captured, and the Orleanists fell back to the Loire. Practically all the north of France was secured to the Duke of Burgundy. Towards the end of December, the English auxiliaries were sent back to England well rewarded.

The success of the expedition does not seem to have justified the prince's action in the eyes of the king. Henry IV had for two years practically left government through the Council in the hands of the prince. Now all this was changed. Hitherto the king had paid the greatest respect to the wishes of the commons; the prince was very popular with the house of commons, and it was with their approval that he had become so great in the government. But the king was no longer to have in his Council only those approved by parliament. When the commons, who had sat from 3 November, 1411, were being dismissed at the end of their session (on 19 December), the king told them that he would "be and stand in as great liberty, prerogative, or franchise, as any of his progenitors."[2]

This was a great change of attitude, and shows how the royal power had gradually re-established itself since 1399, owing to the conscientious, capable administration of the king, and to the winning, ingenuous ways of the prince. If it is true as was asserted, that the prince's friends had suggested that

[1] Walsingham, op. cit., II, 286; Monstrelet, *La Chronique*, LXXXI.

[2] *Rolls of Parl.*, III, 658.

the king should abdicate,[1] the elder Henry soon showed them their mistake. The present ministers' term of office ran out at the end of the year; and the ministers appointed in January, 1412, were none of the prince's friends; at the head of all Archbishop Arundel came back as Chancellor; and the prince and his friend, Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, disappeared for a time from the Council. Hardyng, the rhyming historian, says plainly,

> The king discharged the prince from his counsel,
> And set my lord Sir Thomas in his stead.[2]

There is no doubt that the prince was in disfavour. Yet before they were dismissed, the commons in December, 1411, moved a vote of thanks to the old Council, mentioning particularly the name of the prince of Wales; and the prince, in replying, said, perhaps referring to the Burgundian expedition, that if the Council had had more means at their disposal, they could have done more for the honour and profit of the kingdom.[3]

Henry IV took another view. The Orleans party in France, having seen the value of English help in the Burgundian expedition, sent to the king and the new Council, to ask for support; and in return they

[1] See the reply of the Bishop of Winchester to these reports, in *Rolls of Parl.*, IV, 298.

[2] Hardyng, *Chronicle*, 369. See also Ramsay, op. cit., I, 135.

[3] *Rolls of Parl.*, III, 649. The suggestion is made by Ramsay, op. cit., I, 133.

offered Aquitaine.[1] This was an offer that no English king could refuse. Parts of Aquitaine had been connected with the English crown ever since the days of Henry II. But it was a fluid possession, French power was always encroaching on it, and by the year 1412, little more remained to the English than Bordeaux, and a strip of country from the Charente to the Adour.

A treaty was concluded, and the king agreed to send 1000 men-at-arms and 3000 archers to aid the Orleanists in France. With great difficulty[2] the Council found enough money, and the force was got together at Southampton, and finally dispatched on 9 August, under command of the king's second son, Thomas, who had lately been created Duke of Clarence.[3] They landed at La Hogue, and gradually worked their way over that part of Normandy known as the Cotentin, capturing small towns on the way. As they proceeded they plundered and ravaged the country.[4] But by this time the king of France, Charles VI, in a lucid interval, furious at the shameful buying and selling of his country, had gathered the forces that still obeyed the crown, and induced the Burgundians and Armagnacs again to patch up some sort of peace. So the Duke of Orleans paid the English forces what was due to them, and invited

[1] Wals., II, 288.

[2] *Proc. of Privy Council*, II, 31, 121.

[3] Rymer, *Foedera*, VIII, 757; *Chronicle of London*, 94.

[4] *Religieux de St. Denys*, IV, 720. Waurin, op. cit., 160, says that the English behaved very badly.

them to retire. There was nothing left for Clarence to do but to leave France without gaining anything more.[1] The English now had actively assisted both parties in turn, and naturally had gained the gratitude of neither.

It is clear that this expedition was made much against the wishes of the prince, and during the time it occupied, he was living partly in retirement out of London, probably at some royal manor that had been put at his disposal, partly at Calais where he was still Lieutenant. He had plenty of friends, however; just before the expedition started he came to London, on 30 June, with, it is said, many lords and gentlemen, to demand the dismissal of those evil councillors who had sown discord between his father and himself. The king told him that he must put his grievances before parliament for consideration.

Again, after the failure of Clarence's expedition in favour of the Orleanists, the prince once more came to London with a great concourse of people to bring his wishes before the Council. These visits must have been rather trying for the king's councillors, although the prince does not seem to have meant anything in the way of a demonstration with armed force. The prince stayed at Westminster Palace, and had for his special apartment the Green Chamber. One evening a strange man was discovered lurking behind a "tapet." On being examined, he confessed

[1] Waurin, op. cit., 161. As they marched back they behaved with more moderation than the French. *St. Denys*, IV, loc. cit.

to having been sent by the Bishop of Winchester to assassinate the prince.[1] This statement is wholly absurd, as Henry of Winchester was a man of excellent character, and a lifelong friend of the prince. It seems impossible to discover who was at the bottom of this attempted assassination; the matter was probed no further, and the man was tied up in a sack at the order of the Earl of Arundel, and thrown into the Thames.

The prince although not a member of the Council, had always quite a court of people about him, more numerous than his father's.[2] He evidently felt his father's displeasure keenly, and these visits to London were attempts to set himself right in the eyes of the nation and of the king. He was careful not to let his lords and gentlemen advance beyond the fire in the hall,[3] in order to remove all suspicion from his father of any intention to overawe or intimidate him.

Some time previously, early in 1412, the prince had been accused in the Council of having misappropriated some of the funds due to the garrison of Calais. But the charge, one of the worst that can be brought against a soldier and administrator, was easily shown to be baseless, by the production of the prince's accounts for the funds.[4]

[1] *Rolls of Parl.*, IV, 298. 1412 is the most probable date. See Ramsay, op. cit., I, 140.

[2] Holinshed, op. cit., 539.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Proc. of Privy Council*, II, 34.

All this goes far, on a sympathetic reading, to explain the behaviour both of the prince and the king in these last days. The prince, conscious of great powers, and of a high character, was uneasy at the attacks of certain of the councillors; the king, worn-out by the disease of the skin which had been with him for years, was perhaps apt to be irritable and suspicious. Yet, on the whole, the two men understood each other, and were easily reconciled. The words reported of the king in the Elizabethan chronicler's annals may not be verbally correct, but they probably are in substance true: "My right dear and heartily beloved son, it is of truth that I had you partly suspect, and as I now perceive, undeserved on your party: but seeing this your humility and faithfulness, I shall not from henceforth have you any more in mistrust, for any reports that shall be made unto me, and thereof I assure you upon mine honour." These words are said to have passed on the prince's visit to London on 23 September, 1412.[1]

The king was nearing his end. He had for some years been threatened with death, having had several attacks of epilepsy. The final attack which carried him off, came on Monday, 20 March, when he was attending service in Westminster Abbey, at the tomb of Edward the Confessor. He lay for some

[1] Stow, *Annals* (1631), 340. [Stow also says the prince offered a dagger for his father to slay him with, if he thought his son unfaithful (cp. *Chronicle of London*, 95). This is confirmed by the *First English Life*, 13.]

hours in the Jerusalem Chamber of the Abbey, conscious at least for some portions of the time. Prince Henry was present at the end, and received his father's kiss and blessing.

CHAPTER IV

THE LEGENDARY AND THE REAL HENRY

With the death of his father, Henry V steps into the clear light of history. As king, he was easily the most impressive person in England, the administrator, the statesman, the soldier; from his accession he personally undertook all the general concerns of his kingdom, and kept all control in his own hands. Thus the chronicles and state papers are full of his doings, and his movements can be traced with accuracy. But it is otherwise with the years before his accession. Then he was not the chief figure in the kingdom; his deeds are mentioned among those of other men, his movements are often obscured, his character not specifically described. People of a later age were dissatisfied with the meagre details of his youth, contrasted with the fulness of the knowledge of his years as king. So they welcomed any hearsay stories which remedied this defect of the contemporary chronicles of king Henry. Thus a body of traditional literature grew up, which luridly pictured the contrast, so dear to all story-tellers, of a boisterous, thoughtless and scapegrace youth turned into a virtuous and prudent man. This traditional

literature had a basis in real history, and so must not be put entirely aside. Moreover, however sharply the contrast is pointed, it has nothing wholly improbable about it. Human biography has many instances of a change from gay to grave ; wildness in youth is not incompatible with seriousness in later life. Heirs to thrones are more likely than private men to experience such a change ; for as heirs-apparent they have all the means for amusement, but as kings they have the great responsibilities and traditions of their office, to make them serious. A wise prince is sure to be a good king ; but a foolish prince does not necessarily make a bad king. The stories told in Elizabethan days concerning Henry's youth are not incredible, and need make little difference to his reputation as a king. Yet it would be well if the stories could be finally verified and sifted. Unfortunately, this is not possible, and the question must perhaps always remain controversial. It may be worth while, however, to take the chief of the later story-tellers, Shakespeare, and to try to distinguish in his picture of prince Henry, what is known to be true, and what must be left as unproven.

Henry V is portrayed in three different ways in the two parts of Shakespeare's *King Henry the Fourth*, and in *King Henry the Fifth*. The first Henry is a vigorous lusty young man aged sixteen years,[1] fond

[1] The battle of Shrewsbury, 1403, takes place towards the end of the first part of *King Henry the Fourth*. The prince was born in 1387.

of practical jokes and of horse-play, enjoying the company of low companions and given to the use of extravagant foul language. With Poins he watches Falstaff robbing the carriers at Gadshill, and then proceeds himself to rob Falstaff :

The thieves have bound the true men. Now could thou and I rob the thieves, and go merrily to London, it would be argument for a week, laughter for a month, and a good jest for ever. (*Henry IV*, Pt. I, Act II, Sc. 2.)

After this adventure, Henry draws on the vainglorious Falstaff to boast and lie about his exploits :

Prince. What, fought you with them all ?

Fal. All ! I know not what you call all ; but if I fought not with fifty of them, I am a bunch of radish : if there were not two or three and fifty upon poor old Jack, then am I no two-legged creature.

Prince. Pray God, you have not murdered some of them.

Fal. Nay, that's past praying for : I have peppered two of them ; two, I am sure, I have paid ; two rogues in buckram suits. I tell thee what, Hal, if I tell thee a lie, spit in my face, call me horse. Thou knowest my old ward ; here I lay, and thus I bore my point. Four rogues in buckram let drive at me——

Prince. What, four ? Thou saidst but two even now.

Fal. Four, Hal ; I told thee four.

Poins. Ay, ay, he said four.

Fal. These four came all a-front, and mainly thrust at me. I made me no more ado, but took all their seven points in my target, thus.

Prince. Seven ? Why, there were but four even now.

Fal. In buckram.

Poins. Ay, four, in buckram suits.
Fal. Seven, by these hilts, or I am a villain else.

So prince Henry leads him on, until Falstaff has sworn that he had eleven antagonists, out of which number he killed seven. Then the prince breaks out :

These lies are like their father that begets them ; gross as a mountain, open, palpable. Why, thou clay-brained guts, thou knotty-pated fool, thou whoreson obscene, greasy tallow-catch—— (*Ibid.*, II, 4.)

Such language on the part of the prince is paralleled in an earlier portion of the play, and indeed is outmatched, when the prince abuses Falstaff with coarse humour, in the passage beginning : " Thou art so fat-witted, with drinking of old sack, and unbuttoning thee after supper . . ." Falstaff is justified in retorting : " Thou hast the most unsavoury similes ; and art, indeed, the most comparative, rascalliest, sweet young prince." (*Ibid.*, I, 2.)

If prince Henry did nothing wrong in robbing the robbers, he is not so easily to be excused for his jokes at the expense of the poor vintner or pot-boy, Francis :

But, Ned, to drive away the time till Falstaff come, I prithee, do thou stand in some by-room, while I question my puny drawer to what end he gave me the sugar ; and do thou never leave calling " Francis," that his tale to me may be nothing but " Anon." (*Ibid.*, II, 4.)

The episode, like most practical jokes, reflects more credit on the victim than on the joker. Indeed, Henry distinctly lowered himself, and in his own

words had "sounded the very base-string of humility." He was "sworn-brother to a leash of drawers," and could "drink with any tinker in his own language." (*Ibid.*)

Such is Shakespeare's first Henry. The second is the "new man," the serious manly prince, who first acts up to his great responsibilities at the battle of Shrewsbury, as king forever puts aside all low companions, answers firmly but without passion the French ambassadors who insult him with a present of tennis-balls, and sets out with an unwavering confidence in God and in the justice of his own cause, to conquer France. This second Henry is the historic personage, the hero king of England, as described in the history of Titus Livius. This historian was an Italian who was patronised in the reign of Henry VI by Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and who about the year 1440, relying no doubt on Humphrey's information, wrote what has been called the official biography of Henry V.[1]

In Shakespeare's play of *King Henry the Fourth*, the two kinds of fifth Henry are sharply contrasted: the merry, ill-conducted young man; the serious, valiant prince. But Shakespeare does not leave the problem here; he does not, like a modern historian,[2] minimise the excesses of Henry's youth, nor like Walsingham and "Elmham" affirm the early dissolute-

[1] C. L. Kingsford, *English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century*, 51 ff.

[2] Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, III, 79.

ness and leave unexplained the sudden change to kingly gravity. In Shakespeare's view, prince Henry was always serious, always responsible. As prince he feigned levity and wildness, in order that his gravity and dutifulness as king might be the more appreciated :

> I know you all, and will awhile uphold
> The unyoked humour of your idleness :
> Yet herein will I imitate the sun,
> Who doth permit the base contagious clouds
> To smother up his beauty from the world,
> That, when he please again to be himself,
> Being wanted, he may be more wondered at,
> By breaking through the foul and ugly mists
> Of vapours, that did seem to strangle him. (Pt. I, I, 2.)

Shakespeare's Henry really does not love wildness and horse-play, though out of policy he agrees : " once in my days, I'll be a madcap." This explanation of the contrasts in Henry's life, this rationalising of the old traditions of his wildness, is scarcely convincing. Still less convincing is the explanation which in the first act of *King Henry the Fifth* he is made to give to the French ambassadors :

> We never valued this poor seat of England ;
> And therefore, living hence, did give ourself
> To barbarous licence. (I, 2.)

Here Shakespeare was inconsistent with himself. For neither the Henry of Eastcheap nor the Henry of Agincourt could ever have talked slightingly of " this poor seat of England."

Clearly the difference between the traditional prince Henry and the historic king Henry struck Shakespeare as something difficult to believe, something which required explanation. So he gave the two explanations just mentioned, both of them being completely without foundation in history. Nevertheless, the contrast was necessary to the dramatist; the earlier riotous Henry was a fine dramatic foil to Hotspur, who is the second great figure of the first part of *King Henry the Fourth*. Prince Henry is described as being jealous of the Percy, whose family had played such an important part in setting the Lancastrians on the throne:

> That ever this fellow should have fewer words than a parrot, and yet the son of a woman! His industry is—upstairs and downstairs; his eloquence—the parcel of a reckoning. I am not yet of Percy's mind, the Hotspur of the north; he that kills me some six or seven dozen of Scots at a breakfast, washes his hands, and says to his wife, "Fie upon this quiet life! I want work." "O my sweet Harry," says she, "how many hast thou killed to-day?" "Give my roan horse a drench," says he; and answers, "Some fourteen," an hour after,—"a trifle, a trifle." I prithee, call in Falstaff: I'll play Percy, and that damned brawn shall play dame Mortimer his wife. "Rivo!" says the drunkard. Call in ribs, call in tallow. (*Henry IV*, Pt. I, II, 4.)

The tavern-haunter prince Henry and the great soldier Hotspur are set off against each other, and therefore the change in Henry's character, when he becomes the grave responsible prince, is placed by

the dramatist at the battle of Shrewsbury, when Hotspur is defeated and killed. The affairs of state had grown dangerous when the Percies revolted and joined the rebels of Wales. The prince's father, Henry IV, feeling the work of government too heavy, takes young Henry to task for his misdeeds, and rebukes him for not taking up the duties of his position :

> Thy place in council thou hast rudely lost,
> Which by thy younger brother is supplied,
> And art almost an alien to the hearts
> Of all the court and princes of my blood . . .
>
> For thou hast lost thy princely privilege
> With vile participation : not an eye
> But is a-weary of thy common sight,
> Save mine, which hath desired to see thee more.

To this the prince soberly replies :

> I shall hereafter, my thrice-gracious lord,
> Be more myself . . .
>
> I will redeem all this on Percy's head
> And in the closing of some glorious day,
> Be bold to tell you that I am your son. . . .
>
> And that shall be the day, whene'er it lights,
> That this same child of honour and renown,
> This gallant Hotspur, this all-praised knight,
> And your unthought-of Harry chance to meet.
>
> (III, 2.)

As the great trial of strength approaches, the feelings of prince Henry towards Hotspur are something far

nobler than jealousy, they are feelings of honourable rivalry, full of respect for a worthy foe.

> The Prince of Wales doth join with all the world
> In praise of Henry Percy. . . .
>
> I do not think a braver gentleman,
> More active-valiant or more valiant-young,
> More daring or more bold is now alive
> To grace this latter age with noble deeds.
> For my part, I may speak it to my shame,
> I have a truant been to chivalry. . . . (V, 1.)

They meet upon the field of Shrewsbury :

> *Hot.* If I mistake not, thou art Harry Monmouth.
> *Prince.* Thou speak'st as if I would deny my name.
> *Hot.* My name is Harry Percy.
> *Prince.* Why, then, I see
> A very valiant rebel of the name.
> I am the Prince of Wales ; and think not, Percy,
> To share with me in glory any more :
> Two stars keep not their motion in one sphere ;
> Nor can one England brook a double reign,
> Of Harry Percy and the Prince of Wales. (V. 4.)

In the combat, Hotspur is slain : " O Harry, thou hast robbed me of my youth ! "—worse still, prince Henry has at last won from him his " proud titles." So the prince takes leave of him, " food for worms "—" fare thee well, great heart ! " Thus prince Henry comes to his own at last, and shows his true spirit. When, at the end of the second part of the play, he succeeds to the throne, he carries on without a change the administration of his father : there are no executions, no paying off old scores :

Not Amurath an Amurath succeeds,
But Harry Harry. (Pt. II, V. 2.)

Thus we see the second Henry of the dramatist, the grave, responsible, heroic king.

The third character of Henry appears only at the end of the play of *King Henry the Fifth*, when the king in the character of a bluff, straightforward soldier, unused to the niceties of courts, woos the somewhat surprised princess Katherine. In this scene only, the king talks not in dignified blank verse, but in rough, direct prose :

Marry, if you would put me to verses or to dance for your sake, Kate, why you undid me : for the one, I have neither words nor measure; and for the other, I have no strength in measure, yet a reasonable measure in strength. If I could win a lady at leap-frog, or by vaulting into my saddle with my armour on my back, under the correction of bragging be it spoken, I should quickly leap into a wife. Or if I might buffet for my love, or bound my horse for her favours, I could lay on like a butcher and sit like a jackanapes, never off. But before God, Kate, I cannot look greenly nor gasp out my eloquence, nor have I no cunning in protestation ; only downright oaths, which I never use till urged, nor never break for urging. If thou canst love a fellow of this temper, Kate, whose face is not worth sun-burning, that never looks in his glass for love of anything he sees there,—let thine eye be thy cook. I speak to thee plain soldier : if thou canst love me for this, take me ; if not, to say to thee that I shall die, is true ; but for thy love, by the Lord, no ; yet I love thee too. (V. 2.)

The bluff soldier, with his plain language, savouring

all of the camp, and nothing of the court, is made all the more striking when set off against the delicate Katherine with her mincing French, and still more mincing attempts at English. But this is not the true Henry. It is an Elizabethan version of the character of Henry of Navarre, the bluff contemporary soldier-king of France. Shakespeare himself has to abandon this character when at the end of the scene king Henry meets his father-in-law and the Duke of Burgundy: in reply to Burgundy's bantering question: "teach you our princess English?" the king gravely replies:

> I would have her learn, my fair cousin, how perfectly I love her; and that is good English.

This is more in the character of the historic Henry, and is more in agreement with the description of Henry's first meeting with the princess Katherine, as described in Monstrelet.[1]

Of the three Henries of Shakespeare, the bluff, honest, uncultivated soldier has to be discarded; the statesman, the hero king of Agincourt, remains, as described in Livius' work, the authentic biography. What remains in history of the first Henry, the brawler of Eastcheap?

There are really five points to be dealt with under this question. The first point to be decided is this: is the prince known to have frequented the Boar's Head tavern in Eastcheap, or any such place, and to

[1] See below, p. 221.

have lain in wait for his own receivers, or otherwise to have played the highwayman? The second point is: did the prince associate with low companions? The third: had he any spirit of rivalry with regard to Hotspur? The fourth: was he ever brought up before a magistrate? The fifth: had he as prince any dissensions with his father?

So far as strictly contemporary history is able to testify, none of these points can be absolutely proved, except the last. The charges contained in the first four points are not known to be true; it is certain that they are grossly exaggerated, but it is almost equally certain that there is some truth, though not a great deal, contained in them.

The authorities for Henry's career as prince may be traced back in a descending series. There are the Tudor historians, Stow, Holinshed, Hall and Fabyan, who wrote respectively about 1580, 1578, 1542 and 1512. Of the Tudor historians, Stow may be taken as the most typical and most erudite. Finally, there is to be noticed a most important work, *The First English Life of King Henry the Fifth*,[1] written in 1513, partly from the work of Livius, partly from an account or notes written by the fourth Earl of Ormonde, who lived from 1392 to 1452. Lastly come the original sources, of which the chief, as regards the personal history of Henry, are "Elmham" and Livius.

[1] Edited from the Bodleian MS. by C. L. Kingsford with a valuable and full Introduction.

The " Boar's Head " in Eastcheap does not appear either in the contemporary annalists of Henry's reign, nor in the sixteenth-century chroniclers. For such details Shakespeare was indebted to another play, *The Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth*, composed about 1588. But Stow asserts the wildness of the prince, and tells the story, somewhat differently from Shakespeare, about the playing at highwaymen. The prince, says Stow :

> Lived somewhat insolently, inasmuch that while his father lived, being accompanied with some of his young lords and gentlemen, he would wait in disguised array for his own receivers and distress them of their money, and sometimes at such enterprises both he and his companions were surely beaten, and when his receivers made to him their complaints how they were robbed in their coming to him, he would give them their discharge of so much money as they had lost, and besides that they should not depart from him without great rewards for their trouble and vexation, especially they should be rewarded that best had resisted him and his company and of whom he had received the greatest and most strokes.[1]

It will be noticed that although the details of the story differ from Shakespeare's (*Henry IV*, Pt. I, Act II, Sc. 2) in important respects, yet both Stow and Shakespeare convey exactly the same impression of prince Henry's character. They differ, however, in point of time. Stow refers to the years 1410–1412 ; Shakespeare places his scenes in 1403, when Henry was not sixteen years old.

[1] Stow, *Annals*, 342.

Stow's version, written about 1580, agrees almost word for word with the account in the *First English Life* of 1513. In fact, the later version is simply a transcript of the earlier.[1] But the *English Life* goes further and states that the story rests on the "credence before rehearsed," as well as on common fame. The credence referred to is the Earl of Ormonde.[2] The only other contemporary evidence of the "hurling in Eastcheap" and the practical jokes is the *Chronicle of London.*[3] The story refers only to the princes Thomas and John. Here we are told that in 1410 there was a riot in Eastcheap between the men of London and the king's sons, Thomas and John.

This, then, is all that is left of the pranks of prince Henry. Contemporaries told about his brothers behaving like mohawks in the streets; a later age fathered the pranks upon prince Henry. But it is not impossible that Henry may have taken part in the hurling: indeed, from the evidence of the *First English Life*, it may be taken for granted.

The second point—whether the prince Henry consorted with low companions, is more dubious. Shakespeare's characters, Falstaff and Bardolf, must be discarded by history. There were, indeed, men with such names, but they were of quite different characters to Shakespeare's men. The historic Falstaff was neither, as in Shakespeare, an old man—

[1] *First English Life*, 17.

[2] *English Hist. Literature of Fifteenth Century*, C. L. Kingsford, 66.

[3] *A Chronicle of London* (Ed. N. H. Nicolas), 93. See below.

" that he is old, the more the pity, his white hairs do witness it,"—nor a vainglorious tavern-hunter. Sir John Fastolf was a Norfolk squire, who lived between the years 1378 and 1459. He fought well in the French Wars, being in command of the English convoy which fought a brilliant action in 1429, known as Rouvray, or the battle of the Herrings. It is true that at the battle of Patay, later in the same year, he was suspected of cowardice by some people, but subsequent history has entirely exonerated him,[1] and the rest of his career shows that this exoneration was correct. He was never a spendthrift, never likely to be in debt, but, on the contrary, was a wealthy and almost miserly old country gentleman, as may be gathered from the numerous details about him in the *Paston Letters*.[2]

The truth is that in the original play [3] which inspired Shakespeare's version, the companion of prince Henry is made to be not Falstaff, but Sir John Oldcastle. In this there is much truth, as it is certain that Oldcastle, before his Lollardy led him to extremes, was a friend and associate of the prince. But Oldcastle was never wild and immoral; in his whole career there is something of the saint, just as in his death there is something of the martyr. The

[1] Cp. Oman, *Political History of England*, 309.

[2] Another Sir John Fastolf " of Nacton " has been discovered by Mr. L. W. V. Harcourt. This Fastolf was committed for contempt of court in 1403. Kingsford's *First English Life*, Introduction, xli.

[3] *The Famous Victories of Henry V.*

name of Oldcastle clearly did not suit the character given him in the play, especially in the strongly Protestant times towards the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign. It was accordingly changed by Shakespeare to Falstaff, although prince Henry (Pt. I, Act I, Sc. 2) still addresses him as "my old lad of the castle." Why Shakespeare adopted the name of Falstaff it is impossible to say. He found it in a history book, and thought it suitable for his purpose, just as Scott, in looking through the chronicles of England, was struck with the name of the Annals of Waverley, the old Benedictine abbey of Peter des Roches. Sir John Fastolf is not known to have been an intimate friend of Henry, although it is known that the king admired him as a soldier, and gave him a good command. Whether a companion of Henry or not, Fastolf was upright and respectable. As for Oldcastle, Shakespeare himself confesses, in referring to Falstaff in the Epilogue to *King Henry the Fourth* (Pt. II) that "Oldcastle died a martyr, and this is not the man."

The Bardolf described by Shakespeare is equally mythical. "For Bardolf, he is white-livered and red-faced; by the means whereof a' faces it out, but fights not." [1] He finally comes under the strict rule of Henry's discipline and is hanged for stealing silver out of a church, on the march to Agincourt. There is no such person known to history. There was, indeed, a Sir William Bardolf, an officer of good reputation,

[1] *King Henry the Fifth*, Act III, Sc. 2.

who became captain of the Castle of Calais in 1410.[1] Clearly like Oldcastle or Fastolf, "this is not the man."[2] No other boon companions of prince Henry can be traced.

The third and fourth points are equally dubious. There is never any indication of rivalry between Prince Henry and Hotspur, nor is there any record of the prince having been brought before the magistrate. There was, indeed, no chance for such rivalry during Hotspur's life, as at the latter's death in 1403, Henry was just sixteen, and had not yet begun to take a leading part in the Welsh war. Between 1400 and 1403 the prince had been learning the art of war in Wales, and Hotspur had been associated with him, probably as a sort of military adviser. Each sent information to the Privy Council, but there is no trace of dissension between them.[3] Even after Hotspur's death, prince Henry cannot be said to have aspired to play a leading part in the Welsh War. It is not till about 1406 that the prince becomes really prominent. At the battle of Shrewsbury prince Henry is specifically noticed by the contemporary chroniclers, and if he had personally encountered and killed Hotspur, they would certainly have said so.

[1] *Proc. of Privy Council*, II, 353.

[2] The other Bardolf, Thomas, was a turbulent baron, who conspired with the Earl of Northumberland, and died of wounds received in fighting against the king's forces at Bramham Moor in 1408.

[3] See *Trans. of the Royal Historical Society*, New Series, III, 72. "The Story of Prince Henry of Monmouth and Chief Justice Gascoigne," by F. Solly-Flood.

There are two more questions still to be considered. One is: was prince Henry ever brought before a magistrate, as Shakespeare describes in *King Henry the Fourth*, second part (Act V, Sc. 2)?

> You did commit me:
> For which I do commit into your hand
> The unstained sword that you have used to bear.

The second and last question remaining, is to consider whether prince Henry had dissensions with his father.

The first of these two questions has been one of the favourite controversies of history; the balance of modern historical opinion is definitely against it.[1] The story rests upon two foundations: one is Sir Thomas Elyot's *Boke named the Gouvernour*, first published in 1531. Elyot says:

> The moste renomed prince, kynge Henry the fifte, late kynge of Englande, during the life of his father was noted to be fierie and of wanton courage. It hapned that one of his servantes whom he well favoured, for felony by hym committed, was arrayned at the kynges benche; whereof he being advertised, and incenséd by light persones, aboute hym, in furious rage came hastily to the barre, where his servant stode as a prisoner, and commaunded him to be ungyved and sette at libertie, where at all men were abasshed, reserved the chiefe justice, who humbly exhorted the prince to be contented that his servant might be ordred accordyng to the auncient lawes of this

[1] Cp. Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, III, 79. *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, XXVI, 46 (article by C. L. Kingsford); Solly-Flood, *Trans. of Royal Hist. Soc.*, New Series, III, 47–152; C. L. Kingsford, *English Historical Literature in the XVth Century*, 263.

realme. . . . With which answere the prince nothynge appeased, but rather more inflamed, endevored hym selfe to take away his servant. The juge consideringe the perilous example and inconvenience that mought thereby ensue, with a valiant spirit and courage commaunded the prince upon his alegeance to leve the prisoner and depart his way. With which commandment the prince, being set in all fury, all chafed and in a terrible maner, came up to the place of jugment, men thinkyng that he wolde have slayne the juge, or have done hym some damage. But the juge, sitting styll, without moving, declarying the majestie of the kynges place of jugement, and with an assured and bolde countenance, hadde to the prince these words folowyng: Sir, remembre yourself: I kepe here the place of the king, your soveraigne lorde and father. . . . And now for your contempt and disobedience, go you to the prisone of the kynges benche, where unto I commit you. . . . With which wordes beinge abasshed, and also wondering at the marvailous gravitie of the worshipful Justice, the noble prince, laying his weapon aparte, doinge reverence, departed and went to the kynges benche as he was commanded.[1]

The story was repeated by Robert Redmayne, in his life of Henry V, written about 1540.[2] Since then it has had considerable currency. Such is the first foundation for the story. The second is an entry in a chronicle of Coventry, to the effect that John Hornsby, Mayor, arrested the prince in the priory of Coventry in 1412.[3]

It is clear that this last record, which is, of course,

[1] *The Boke named the Gouvernour*, II, chap. VI. See the edition of H. H. S. Croft, vol. II, 61–72.

[2] *Memorials*, 11. [3] Solly-Flood, op. cit., 51.

totally different from Elyot's story, is the only one which can pretend to be contemporary evidence. But even this must be abandoned. The remarkable event of the imprisonment of the prince at Coventry, is not mentioned nor hinted at in any other contemporary document, nor noticed even by the sixteenth-century historians. The chronicle of Coventry itself has to give up the pretence of being contemporary. It was almost certainly composed in the last twenty-five years of the seventeenth century.[1]

What, then, remains of Sir Thomas Elyot's story? Little or nothing. It has very little internal probability; it has no shred of contemporary evidence, in story or document. The case against it cannot be better put than in the words of the learned lawyer who has sifted the case: "no instance whatever has yet been found in any of those rolls[2] or in the year-books of any committal *in penam* by the Court of King's Bench in a summary manner." It is just possible that a commitment of the prince might take place without an entry in the rolls; this consideration is the last defence of the story. Therefore it cannot be disproved, but no one need believe it.

The story of prince Henry's commitment may have risen in two ways: in the first place, it is stated in an authentic fifteenth-century chronicle that on 23 June, the eve of St. John the Baptist, there was

[1] *Ibid.*, 51, 52.

[2] i.e. *Rotuli coram rege*, etc., *ibid.*, 147–8.

great debate in Eastcheap between the men of the lords Thomas and John and the men of London.[1] It is quite likely that some magistrate interfered to quell this tumult, which as Stow says, actually happened.[2] The interference of a magistrate against the king's sons might be the small germ from which the story of prince Henry and Chief Justice Gascoigne grew up. The sequel to the story, as Shakespeare gives it, namely, that on succeeding to the throne Henry V, out of admiration for the upright judge, continued him in office, is quite untrue. As a matter of fact, king Henry dismissed him.[3]

The second way in which the story might have arisen is that prince Edward, the unruly son of Edward I, and afterwards himself king of England, was actually punished by his father for using contemptuous language towards a minister of the king. On comparison, the authentic story of prince Edward has striking points of resemblance with the story of prince Henry, as related by Sir Thomas Elyot.[4] The sixteenth-century version may thus have arisen from the confusion of certain stories about the princes Henry and Thomas, sons of Henry IV, and prince Edward, son of Edward I.[5]

Thus, from many points of view, the accuracy of

[1] *A Chronicle of London* (ed. Nicolas), 93. Stow, *Annals*, 338.

[2] Stow, op. cit., 338.

[3] See below, p. 89.

[4] See Solly-Flood, op. cit., 151, for a detailed comparison.

[5] See also the detailed criticism by H. H. S. Croft, in his edition of the *Governour*, II, 60–71. Mr. Croft sums up the story as a "peculiarly interesting specimen of monastic legend."

Shakespeare's description of Henry's life as prince of Wales is very questionable. Indeed, much of what Shakespeare says has to be given up altogether. What, then, remains ? Three truths remain. Firstly, Henry's character, when he was prince of Wales, was not altogether above reproach. Secondly, it is true, that he had dissension with his father. Thirdly, the historic fact remains, that a noticeable change in conduct, a real and permanent turning over of a "new leaf," took place on his accession to the throne.

That his character as prince was not wholly good is proved by specific statements of contemporary writers. "Elmham" says : "He fervently followed the service of Venus as well as of Mars, as a young man might he burned with her torches, and other insolences accompanied the years of his untamed youth." [1] Livius says, "he exercised meanly the feats of Venus and Mars and other pastimes of youth for so long as the king his father lived." [2] The charges go no further : they are purely general, and may mean very little. "Elmham" admits that most of the prince's time was spent in "the honourable deeds of military service." [3] But it would appear that in the vacations from camp-life, which he spent in London, some of his companions were not men of whom the king his father would approve. No exception can be taken to Bishop Henry Beaufort, or to the Earl of Arundel,

[1] "Elmham," *Vita et gesta Henrici Quinti*, 13.

[2] *First English Life*, 17. Livius, *Vita Henrici Quinti* (ed. Hearne), 4, 5.

[3] "Elmham," op. cit., 13.

himself a friend of Henry IV. There was no disreputable Falstaff but there were some companions whom Henry, when he did become king, put away. This story can be traced as far back as the year 1479. All his household, it is said, but four, urged him as prince beyond the bounds of decorum. When he became king those less desirable members of his household came to him "winking and smiling," expecting great rewards. But Henry only "kept his countenance sadly," and dismissed them,—with liberal presents, however. The four who had frowned on his youthful follies found themselves treated with all honour and affection.[1]

Clearly little that is definite can be said against the prince, but he was not wholly above reproach. The second fact, however, that he had dissension with his father, is specifically known. The cause of this dissension was that the prince had views on foreign policy which the king his father did not share. When, in 1411, the prince on his own authority sent off a military expedition to aid the Burgundians in France, he laid himself open to a well-deserved rebuke from the king. The poet Hardyng says that the prince was discharged from the council by his father.[2] Henry was thus publicly disgraced, and his father showed himself fully determined to keep the reins of government in his own hands. The mis-

[1] This is from a passage given by C. L. Kingsford, *First English Life*, xxxi, from an unpublished Lambeth MS. of the Brut.

[2] Hardyng, *Chronicle*, 369; above, p. 54.

understanding with his father troubled the prince. His position in the country suffered. He had been suspected even of misspending some of the money of Calais, but from this charge he easily cleared himself [1] The misunderstanding was removed by the prince throwing himself humbly before his father, in what became afterwards a famous scene.[2] The king, it is said, suspected the prince of wishing to usurp the crown, "he being alive." Further, the prince was popular and well-attended by people: "his court was at all times more abundant than the king's, his father's." So the prince appeared before his father in that quaint disguise, in a gown of satin or damask "wrought full of eylet-holes and at every eylet, the needle wherewith it was made, hanging still by the silk." [3] The *First English Life* says that in addition to this quaint "disguise," he wore on his arm "a dog's collar set full of SS of gold and the teretts of the same also of fine gold." [4] To show that he had no intention of rivalling the state of his father, the prince would not allow his gentlemen to advance beyond the fire in Westminster Hall.[5] The result was a complete reconciliation between father and son.[6]

It is true, then, there had been a certain amount of friction between Henry IV and the prince. This being magnified appears again in Shakespeare (*Henry the*

[1] *Proc. of the Privy Council*, II, pp. 34–5.
[2] *First English Life*, 11. Stow, op. cit., 339.
[3] Stow, op. cit., *ibid.*
[4] *First Eng. Life*, 11, 13.
[5] Stow, op. cit., 340.
[6] See above, 50.

Fourth, Pt. II, Act IV, Sc. 5) in the famous "Crown" scene. Here the historical authority is the French chronicler Monstrelet.[1] But in this its original form, the story is full of discrepancies. As Monstrelet gives it, the fatal illness of the king happened towards the end of the year 1412 (by modern reckoning it was 20 March, 1413). While he lay ill, the crown "as is accustomed to be done in that country," was lying on a couch near by. The guard, thinking the king was dead, called his son Henry, who came and carried off the crown. Then the king heaved a sigh, came to consciousness, and noticed that the crown was missing. On learning that it was with the prince, the king summoned him, and said: "Good son, how could you have right to it, as I never had any?" To which the prince replied, that as his father had gained it by the sword, he too would defend it with his life.

The details of the story are very vague, and look like hearsay.[2] They appear next in Waurin, who merely copied Monstrelet. The fifteenth-century English chroniclers say nothing about such an episode. Hardyng, in his last "chapter" relating to Henry IV, distinctly says that the king showed no signs of remorse for having seized the throne from Richard II. It is not till the appearance of the Elizabethan chronicler Hall [3] that the story gained currency in English history.

[1] Monstrelet, op. cit., CI, 155.
[2] Waurin, op. cit., 166–7.
[3] Hall, *Chronicle* (ed. 1809), 45.

So we may leave the period of prince Henry's youth: an active period, spent mainly in the camp and at the council-table, but not without blemish. The change in his character so universally observed at his accession, cannot be a figment. Chroniclers might exaggerate the ill reports of his early days, so as to make more dramatic the change that took place in him as king. But the change itself cannot have been invented. "Elmham" may exaggerate when he says that what took place was a "sudden conversion of darkness into light, of cloud into clear air." [1] But the staid Walsingham is to be trusted when he says that the prince, becoming king, "was suddenly changed into another man, careful for honour, modesty and gravity." The *First English Life* gives in order his qualities as king: justice, continence, humility, adding that from the time of the death of his father, his virtue was never doubted.[2]

[1] "Elmham," op. cit., 13.
[2] *First English Life*, 5.

CHAPTER V

THE ACCESSION OF HENRY V

On 21 March, Tuesday, the feast of St. Benedict, 1413, the reign of Henry V began. His father had died on the 20th; the new king's reign was dated from the next day, on which his "peace" was proclaimed.[1]

Henry V was at this time a young man of twenty-five years of age. He is described as tall in stature, slender, but with well-formed limbs, strong-boned, and nervous. His head from the brow downwards was long and beautifully moulded; the upper portion of his head was round, with a high, smooth brow, showing a strong and wholesome mind. His hair was dark brown, thick and uncurled; his nose straight, suiting well the long face. In complexion he was ruddy, his eyes clear and bright, with a reddish tint, mild like a dove's in repose, but lion-like when he was angry. He had even, firm teeth, white as snow, and small, shapely ears. His chin was cleft, his neck moderately thick, his skin white. The lower part of his face and his throat were narrow, with firm and clean flesh, white in colour, though rosy here and

[1] Nicolas, *Chronology of History*, 303.

there; the lips were bright red. His general aspect was both amiable and dignified.[1]

He had every quality that made for popularity in a prince. It is agreed that in "strength and nimbleness of body" there were few people who could compare with him. It was not merely that he was a great soldier. As an athlete also, he excelled in leaping and running. He could throw great iron bars and heavy stones. He was a good huntsman, and it is specially remembered how he shot a great stag with an arrow and presented it to the monks of Westminster.[2] "Elmham" says that he could start a deer from a thicket and run it to death.[3] When on campaign he showed the greatest endurance, bearing cold or heat with the same equanimity. In the thick of a fight his custom was to have his head bare; otherwise he bore his suit of heavy armour as it were "a light cloak." He had an indomitable will, and was never known to flinch at a wound, or to turn his eyes from smoke or dust in battle.

As king, Henry in his personal habits bore the best of names. In eating and drinking he was moderate,[4] but not delicate, taking like a soldier what food was set before him. He was gentle and accessible to his subjects, and at meal-times it is said that any honest person could come to him to declare his mind.

[1] *Memorials of Henry V* ("Versus Rhythmici"), 65–6.

[2] *Ibid.*, 71.

[3] "Elmham," op. cit., 12–13.

[4] Henry ate nothing at his Coronation banquet on 9 April. Wylie, *The Reign of Henry the Fifth*, I, 7.

Like the best medieval kings, he was a practical judge, who willingly listened to men's cases, and then either decided them on the spot, or referred them for further consideration to his councillors. He took very little sleep, but what he had was sound, so that in camp at nights the singing of the soldiers and minstrels troubled him not the least, but seemed to make him sleep the sounder. He was without wantonness or avarice, being free and bountiful in giving to all men for their deserts, and saying that he desired money not to have but to give and to spend. Both in mind and in countenance he was staid, not elated in the hour of victory, nor cast down when misfortune came.[1]

Such was the prince whom all England from his accession has delighted to honour. While king, his private life was above reproach, and in his public life, if he made mistakes, he was always honourable. Evidently the greatness of his task and position, the magnitude of his office as king, struck him with great seriousness on the death of his father. It is said that on that very night he went to a recluse in the church of Westminster, confessed his sins, and resolved to atone for the past.[2] He had a new leaf to turn over and this he did firmly without ever looking back, to become one of the best and most lovable characters in English history.

The accession of the new king was accompanied by

[1] Holinshed, *Chronicles*, III, 583.
[2] "Elmham," op. cit., 16.

a change of ministry. His uncle, Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, became Chancellor in place of Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury. But the Archbishop's nephew, Thomas, fifth Earl of Arundel, became Treasurer of the kingdom. Another change that has been noted is the appointment of Sir William Hankeford as Chief Justice in place of Sir William Gascoigne. Gascoigne was the judge with whom Henry as prince of Wales had had some kind of quarrel, which resulted in the old king excluding the prince for a time from his council and court.[1] At the accession of Henry V, Gascoigne was sixty-three years old. It was the rule in England that at the death of a king, all existing appointments of officials came to an end, and new appointments either of the previous officials or others, were then made by letters patent by the new king.[2]

The coronation took place on 9 April, amid a regular storm of snow. This was variously interpreted as an omen, some thinking that it portended a severe and rigid rule, others remembering that a storm is often followed immediately by serene and pleasant times.[3] The coronation was followed by a session of parliament, which met on 15 May, the last parliament of Henry IV thus becoming, without a general election, the first parliament of Henry V.

[1] *Memorials of Henry V*, 11, above.

[2] Gascoigne in retirement was given occasional honourable commissions by Henry V. Wylie, op. cit., 17–18.

[3] Walsingham, op. cit., II, 290.

In this session began that harmony between king and parliament, which has made Henry V notable as the first monarch in English history who throughout his reign was untroubled by any dissensions in the national councils. The Chancellor asked that a proper provision should be made for the maintenance of the royal household and government. Handsome revenues were voted, and £10,000 was specially appropriated to the king's household,—an early instance of the granting of a civil list to the king. Henry, on his part, without any difficulty, accepted the Speaker whom the commons chose and presented to him. He received the complaints which the lords and commons made of the lack of government which always troubled his father's rule; this complaint referred especially to the conditions of defence and on the Scottish March, in Calais, Guienne, Ireland, and on the sea. Henry took the complaint in good part, and asked the estates to write it down for his consideration. The rest of the proceedings in parliament showed the same complete agreement. At the end Henry granted a pardon with a few exceptions to all his lieges in prison. The release of one particular nobleman showed both the magnanimity of the king and the confidence he had in his dynasty. Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, was the grandson of Philippa, daughter of Lionel, second son of Edward III. He thus belonged to a branch of the royal family which, descending through a female, was older than the Lancastrian dynasty itself, which

sprang from John of Gaunt, third son of Edward III. King Richard II had himself, in 1398, recognised young Edmund of March as heir to the throne. After the revolution of 1399, which displaced Richard II and seated the Lancastrians on the throne, Henry IV naturally looked with little favour on Richard's heir. Edmund was therefore kept in honourable but strict confinement from 1399 to 1413. But Henry V had no fears. So on his accession to the throne he released the Earl of March and restored his estates. The confidence was justified. Edmund, who was then twenty-two years old, became the devoted servant of the king, rejecting all incentives to treason, and doing useful work as a soldier in the French campaigns and as Governor in Ireland.

While the king was holding the session of his first parliament, his father was still unburied. The body, which had been embalmed, lay in state at Canterbury. The funeral took place on 18 June, Trinity Sunday, in the presence of the new king. Having accomplished this pious duty, Henry V was faced with the first crisis of his reign which arose from the Lollards.

The Lollards owed their origin in the reign of Edward III, largely to the teaching of John Wycliffe. In the fourteenth century considerable discontent had been manifested in England, partly with the papacy itself, partly with the prelates at home. The papacy had since 1309 been resident, not at Rome, but at Avignon. There it was suspected of being under the political influence of the French crown. Even

Catholic historians[1] admit that the papacy at Avignon was in financial difficulties which it attempted to remedy by disposing of foreign benefices and livings. In the middle of the fourteenth century it was commonly said that Avignon was a regular market for English livings, a place of "brokers of benefices."[2] The general resentment at this was manifested in petitions of parliament to the crown, and in anti-papal statutes, the acts of Provisors and Præmunire. It was contended that owing to the practice by which the Pope provided his own nominees with English benefices, promotion among the purely English clergy was very greatly retarded, so that the number and quality of candidates for ordination declined, parents being naturally unwilling to send their sons into the uncertain profession of the Church.[3]

Discontent was also felt with the position of the English hierarchy. The prelates were not merely wealthy, but were considered to spend too much of their time in the political service of the king. A great prelate like William of Wykeham was an official high up in the royal service, a good man of business, a great builder. Clerical statesmen did good work in the government of the nation, they were able, well-educated, upright. But their spiritual duty may have suffered through the exigency of secular affairs, although it was partly by reason of the prelates' great

[1] e.g. Lingard, *Hist. of England*, III, 257–8.
[2] *Rolls of Parl.*, II, 337–8.
[3] *Ibid.*

position in the government that they were able to engage in their magnificent public works and to obtain charters and privileges for them from the king, as in the case of William of Wykeham's great foundations at Winchester and Oxford. But John Wycliffe objected that this immersion in public business was incompatible with the Christian ideal of the ministry. Clerical statesmen, in his view, were only "Cæsarean clergy," not sufficiently devoted to God. Moreover, as promotion in the Church was by way of services rendered to the king, priests who devoted themselves wholly to their spiritual duties were apt never to be recognised by the crown, and so to pass their time in a subordinate position and in a strictly circumscribed sphere. All this had a depressing effect upon the clergy in general, and the best men were not always attracted into the Church. The wealth of the prelates might be great, but the stipends of the lower clergy were inadequate. A great clergyman might hold several livings in plurality, or he might be an absentee altogether, his religious work being performed by a curate, who was not able to carry out his duties properly.

Such were the defects of the Church in Wycliffe's estimation, and it was to remedy them that he induced his admirers to go about the country as "poor preachers," supplementing the work of the ordinary priesthood, preaching sermons, reading the Bible, ministering to the poor. But he aimed not merely at sending preachers into every district, but at bringing

back the Church to a condition of apostolic poverty. All clergymen were to be adequately provided for, but large incomes were not to be tolerated, and the great possessions of the cathedrals and monasteries were to be reduced or taken away. Such great possessions, such "dominion," only tempted Churchmen to live easy lives and to neglect the means of grace. But "dominion" in Wycliffe's view was founded on grace; clergymen, noblemen, kings, who did not live in grace, had no right to their dominion.

Thus Wycliffe's followers, who in the last quarter of the fourteenth century were gradually known as Lollards, came into collision both with the civil and ecclesiastical authorities. The theory of dominion struck not merely at ecclesiastical property, but seemed to imply that a priest who did not live in grace, who was sinful, had no right to the privileges of priesthood, and could not validly mediate between God and men and dispense the sacraments. Wycliffe even went further and questioned the sacramental doctrine itself. Although he clothed his thought in the subtleties of the schoolmen's metaphysical language, he cast doubt on the doctrine of transubstantiation in the Eucharist. Thus his followers became implicated in the charge of heresy. At the same time, his views on property and the ethics of disendowment, his theory that the dominion of civil as well as spiritual nobles was founded on grace, seemed to countenance rebellion in the lower classes and attacks on property in general. Thus opposed

by State and Church, the Lollards in the reign of Henry IV had increasingly felt the weight of the law's hand.

Henry V, like his father, was a loyal son of the Church and no sympathiser with Lollardy. But he had never shown any great enthusiasm for persecution. He presided over the burning of John Badby in 1410, but he gave the heretic every chance to recant. Enthusiastic Churchmen considered him as prince of Wales much too lukewarm in his zeal against the Lollards, and reproved him for his backwardness.[1] But the clause "de heretico comburendo" of the statute of 1401 still remained the law of the land on Henry V's accession, and the new king could hardly help taking some notice of the heretics. Archbishop Arundel, their opponent, was no longer Chancellor of the kingdom, but he was Archbishop of Canterbury, and his demand for persecution would be difficult to neglect.

Yet if the Lollards had confined themselves to criticism of the Church and even of the Church's doctrines, they might have escaped with but little loss at the hands of Henry V. It was by mixing themselves with political affairs that they came specially into conflict with him.

The Lancastrian dynasty was on the throne of England, but its right was not unchallenged. There were still people who remembered the now dormant claims of the Earl of March. Some still pretended

[1] Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, III, 76, note 1.

that Richard II was not dead, but might be found and brought back to his kingdom. Richard II had been popular with the Lollards, although he did not treat them leniently.[1] So now that Henry IV was dead, and the new king was not thoroughly established, some of the Lollards seem to have thought of a revolution, which might end in establishing a government more favourable to their opinions than was the house of Lancaster.

The chief Lollard at the accession of Henry V was Sir John Oldcastle, known through his marriage with the Baroness Cobham in 1409 as Lord Cobham, and summoned regularly to the house of peers under that title. This gentleman had served the crown under Henry IV, had fought on the Welsh March and in France, and had been attached in some capacity or other to the prince's household. Henry V admired and liked him, but had some doubts about him on account of his heresy.[2]

In the convocation of clergy which met and sat about the same time as the session of parliament, it was stated that Oldcastle was the great propagator of Lollardy and had taken pains to maintain Lollard preachers in the dioceses of London, Rochester and Hereford. Archbishop Arundel was therefore called on to proceed against the offender. But Arundel refrained for a time out of deference to the wishes of

[1] Richard II's readiness to put in force the laws against Lollardy is proved in Gairdner, *Lollardy*, I, 42.

[2] Walsingham, op. cit., II, 291.

the king. This was in summer 1413. By the king's advice the matter was suspended for a time. Meanwhile the king personally interested himself to persuade Oldcastle to give up his heresy and acknowledge his error; but without effect. Then the Archbishop had him publicly cited by a mandate affixed to the door of Rochester Cathedral, to the effect that he should appear before the Archbishop to answer to charges of heresy on 11 September. When this day arrived, the Archbishop was ready to receive the heretic in the great chapel of Leeds Castle, near Maidstone in Kent. But Oldcastle stayed quietly at Cooling Castle and did not come. He was again publicly cited, and then, failing to appear, was immediately excommunicated. He was then offered another chance of justifying himself; and on 23 September he was taken into custody by the Constable of the Tower of London and brought before the Archbishop of Canterbury and the bishops of London and Winchester, sitting in the Chapter-house of St. Paul's.

Oldcastle was given a fair trial under the existing laws. His contumacy in not attending when summoned was held up before him, but the Archbishop offered to absolve him forthwith from excommunication. Oldcastle refused the absolution, and offered instead to the Archbishop a written statement of his faith. This statement was satisfactory and "sufficiently Catholic"[1] as far as it went, but it was not

[1] Walsingham, op. cit., II, 293.

comprehensive. The Archbishop, after reading it, put to him the test question : Does the bread in the Sacrament, after consecration, remain material or not ?" Oldcastle replied that he had nothing more to say than was in his written statement. He was then sent back to the Tower. On 25 September he was again examined. He then stated, in a very moderate and judicious manner, what may be called the Protestant view of the Eucharist, the power of the priest for absolution, the worship of the image of Christ, and the power of the Pope and the prelates in binding and in loosing. These answers proving unsatisfactory to the bishops, Oldcastle was judged guilty of heresy by the Archbishop. At the same time it was recommended to the king that the guilty man should have forty days' respite. But before this time was completed Oldcastle managed somehow to escape from the Tower. It must have been difficult to escape from that fortress, but doubtless he had Lollard sympathisers among the garrison. It is possible that the constable of the Tower, at the desire of the king, purposely left a careless guard. King Henry would have liked Oldcastle to escape over sea and be no more heard of in England. If this was his desire, the king was disappointed. For the knight found a refuge in Wales,[1] and was soon suspected of preparing some great armed demonstration against the royal government. Amid such rumours the year 1413 passed away. In December the king caused the

[1] *Memorials of Henry V*, 17.

Photo, Emery Walker

HENRY V
National Portrait Gallery

CITY OF WESTMINSTER
PUBLIC LIBRARIES

body of Richard II, which had been interred at King's Langley, to be removed to Westminster and honourably buried there. This was an acknowledgment of the kindness which Richard had formerly shown to Henry,[1] and also a public demonstration that Richard was really dead.

The political danger from the Lollards came to a head almost immediately. The king was spending Christmas at the royal manor of Eltham. Some Lollards conspired to seize him there, but the daring plan failed through Henry being warned by some of the conspirators themselves. The king at once went off quietly to his palace at Westminster, where he felt safe, as he was most popular with the people of London.

But the revolutionaries would not abandon their designs. On the night of 12 January a number of people began to assemble outside London in a field behind St. Giles' Hospital. Oldcastle seems to have left Wales some time previously, and to have been hiding with some sympathisers at St. Albans.[2] He was believed on this evening to be awaiting his supporters in St. Giles' Field. The king resolved to attack the Lollards that very night. He ordered the gates of London to be strictly guarded, so that no one could get out to join the assemblage behind St. Giles'. With only a moderate-sized band of armed men, he marched to the place of meeting. But the Lollards had heard of his coming. Disappointed in their hope of

[1] *Ibid.*, 65, 72. [2] *Ibid.*, 17.

support from London, they dispersed and fled. The king's men killed a few and captured some others. But nothing could be ascertained about Oldcastle, although the king offered great rewards for his apprehension. This shows the popularity in which the knight was held among many of the commons. It is uncertain whether he really was in St. Giles' Field at all. A number of his followers who were captured —it is not known how many—were executed. The throne of king Henry had been in real danger ; his prompt action had crushed what might have become a formidable rising.[1] Royal officers in the country districts had noticed many people travelling as if to London, and on asking whither they went had received the reply "to their Lord of Cobham." The travellers were all apprehended and detained.[2]

The career of Oldcastle was not yet finished. He was to trouble Henry for nearly four years more. When the king was preparing for the French war in 1415, Oldcastle seems to have thought the time propitious for another rising. Henry in July, 1415, had gone to Southampton to make arrangements for the army which was to cross with him to France. There a conspiracy against the king was discovered, involving Richard Earl of Cambridge (a grandson of Edward III), Henry le Scrope and Sir Thomas Grey of Heton. At the same time, as if by agreement,[3] the

[1] There may have been 20,000 Lollards in St. Giles' Field. Wylie, op. cit., 280.

[2] Walsingham, op. cit., II, 299. [3] *Ibid.*, 306.

Lollards began to stir, fixing on church doors writings which threatened both the prelates and the king. Oldcastle was at Malvern then, and seems to have been ready to put himself at the head of his sympathisers. But when the conspiracy of Richard of Cambridge was discovered and crushed, Oldcastle retired into hiding again.

King Henry went off on the glorious campaign of Agincourt, and ultimately returned to London with his power stronger than ever in November. Little more was heard of the Lollards, and none seems to have been fined for heresy during the next year. But in 1417, when it was believed that the king was again going to France, Oldcastle began to gather together the threads of a plot. In July, 1417, Henry crossed to Normandy with an army. The Scots, following their usual practice when the English forces were away in France, opened war and besieged the castle of Roxburgh, which was then in English hands. It was believed that Oldcastle had an understanding with the Scots, that he had spoken with the Earl of Douglas at Pontefract and had promised the Earl a large sum of money if he would bring to England the pretender whom the Scots called king Richard[1] and kept for their own purposes as though Richard II was not long since dead. The Scots, however, were forced to retire by an army under the Dukes of Bedford and Exeter. Oldcastle again went into concealment at St. Albans. From there he

[1] Walsingham, op. cit., II, 327.

seems to have gone to Wales, where he was captured near Welshpool by Lord Powis. He was brought to London and examined in parliament before the Duke of Bedford, who was acting as regent in the absence of the king. When asked whether there was any reason why he should not be adjudged a traitor, Oldcastle replied with a speech on the mercy and justice of God. The Duke sternly bade him answer to the point; after some more delay Oldcastle said he would not recognise any of those present as his judge so long as his liege-lord king Richard was alive in Scotland. Whereupon he was judged to be drawn, hanged, and his body subsequently to be burned. The execution took place on 14 December, on the scene of the great Lollard conventicle in St. Giles' Field. Oldcastle has left a reputation for personal integrity; he was a martyr for his religious opinions. But he was undoubtedly guilty of treason as a rebel, and it was as such that he suffered death.[1] From this time king Henry was untroubled by Lollard risings, and on the side of the government there seems to have been little, if any, further religious persecution.[2]

[1] *Rolls of Parl.*, IV, 107–8; Walsingham, op. cit., II, 328.

[2] It must be remembered, however, that a famous statute passed by parliament at Leicester three months after the Lollard rising, greatly increased the powers of the Church, in searching out heretics. Wylie, loc. cit., 281–2.

CHAPTER VI

THE FRENCH WAR

LIKE a monarch of a later period, Frederick the Great of Prussia, Henry V came to the throne at an age that was prone to warlike deeds, and ready for great exertions. It is, of course, difficult to analyse his motives in renewing the French war of his great-grandfather Edward III. It was an ill day for his house when he did so, for although the French war brought the most glorious days to Henry V, they brought nothing but disaster to his son, the next king, whose reign as a consequence came to an unhappy end in his deposition and probably violent death.

It may be that Henry V, in his great attempt to conquer France, was actuated by ambition. He was already a successful soldier and general, he had large ideas, and his mind was uplifted by the memory of the achievements of Edward III and the "Black Prince," and by reading the lives of heroic soldiers like Godfrey of Bouillon. From words which he said when on his death-bed, it is possible that his plan embraced not merely the conquest of France, but after that an expedition of his combined kingdoms of England and France against the infidel power of

Palestine, so that the Holy Land should be once more restored to Christian keeping.

Again, it has been thought that Henry's reason for the French war included more mundane considerations. The Lancastrian house was a new dynasty on the throne. His father was the first king of the line, and his reign had not been unchallenged. Even the power of Henry V had not been accepted universally as the Lollard conventicle in St. Giles' Field had shown. A successful foreign war would turn the attention of the nation outwards from criticism of the Lancastrian title. Patriotism and the nation's pride in its king would both be increased by the war. The personal leadership of the king would establish the royal position in the army; and the nobles and other warlike spirits would be given a cause to fight for abroad, instead of turning their energies perhaps to revolution at home.

Shakespeare has given his approval to another interpretation of Henry's conduct at this time. The Church in England was wealthy. The crown was comparatively poor, and found difficulty in meeting all its financial obligations. More than once men had turned their eyes to the wealth of the Church, and had advocated some measure of disendowment and the confiscation of part of the Church's wealth to the use of the state. Attacks of this kind were not confined to the Lollards; in the parliament which met at Leicester in 1414, the English property of alien priories —priories of foreign monasteries which had, as it were,

UNIVERSITY OF WESTMINSTER LIBRARIES

colonies in England—was handed over to the king.[1] The English Churchmen may have feared an extension of the principle of disendowment, and a revival of the famous petition of 1410, which proposed that the lands of the bishops and abbots should be taken over by Henry IV. The speeches of Archbishop Chichele in the first act of Shakespeare's *King Henry the Fifth* are, of course, imaginary. But they may contain some truth, and they serve to show, as does the chronicler Hall, from whom Shakespeare derived his material, that the Church considered Henry V likely to listen to petitions of parliament for disendowment. If the Church's property was in danger from Henry, he cannot have been such an orthodox bigot as he is sometimes represented. It is not known, however, that the Churchmen really urged him to the French war, as a means of turning him away from tampering with the Church at home. This only is certain, that once Henry had resolved on war, the Churchmen supported him and voted him generous supplies.

Whatever other motives Henry V may have had, there is no doubt that he fervently believed in the justice of his cause and the goodness of his claim to the French crown. Edward III had already claimed to be king of France, through his mother Isabella, daughter of Philip IV. Edward's successful rival on the French throne was Philip of Valois (VI), nephew

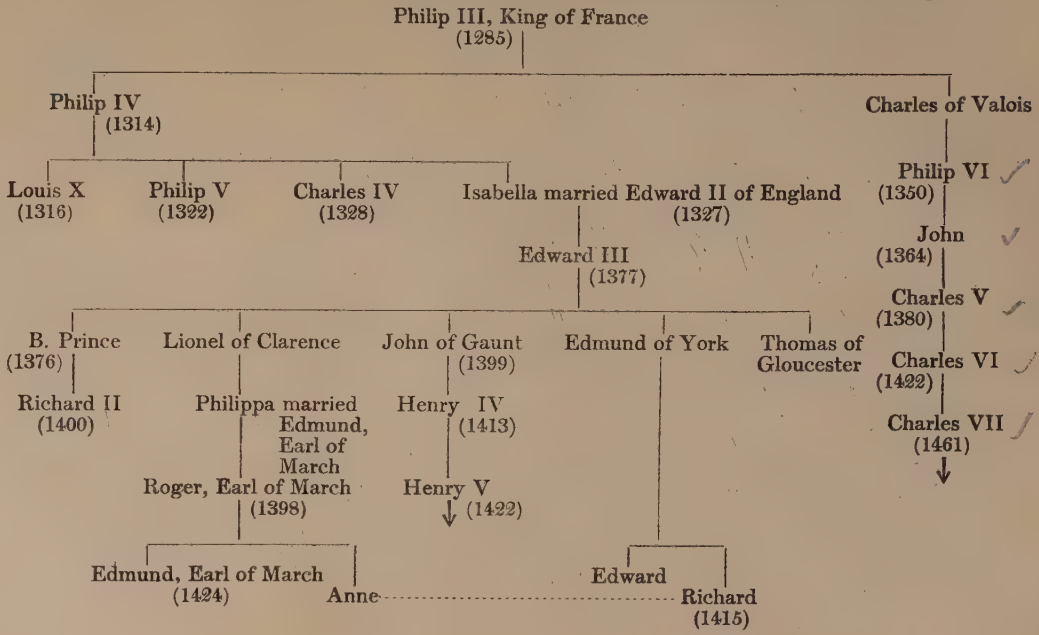
[1] Selden, *Table-Talk* (ed. Reynolds, 1892), 5: "Henry the 5th put away the friars' aliens, and seized to himself £100,000 a year; and therefore they were not the protestants only that took away Church lands."

of Philip IV. There is not much doubt now that the claim of Philip of Valois was better than that of Edward III both from a political and legal point of view. If there was any justice in the claim of Edward III, his right would have descended not to the Lancastrian or junior branch of his family, but to the eldest branch represented by the Earl of March. The fact that the Earl of March was descended from the eldest line of Edward III only through a female was no hindrance, for Edward III only claimed to inherit the crown of France through a female, Isabella.

Thus, if in French law Edward III had a shadow of claim to the French crown, that claim certainly did not descend to Henry V. Yet Henry evidently considered that by the act of parliament of 1399, which put his family on the English throne, all the sovereign right and claims of Edward III, not merely in England but in France, were handed over to the Lancastrian house. So Henry V believed in his right to the French crown, and as the war continued and his life drew to a close, his belief only grew stronger. Evidence of this is to be found throughout his career ; sometimes he seems to have looked on himself as a national English king, a knight and warrior ; sometimes he seems to have regarded himself as a chosen vessel of God, for uniting the two great powers of England and France, for healing schism in the Church, for conquering the infidel. He probably did not argue the matter. The success of his war seemed to prove the justice of his cause. He could not look into the future, when

THE CLAIM OF HENRY V TO THE CROWN OF FRANCE

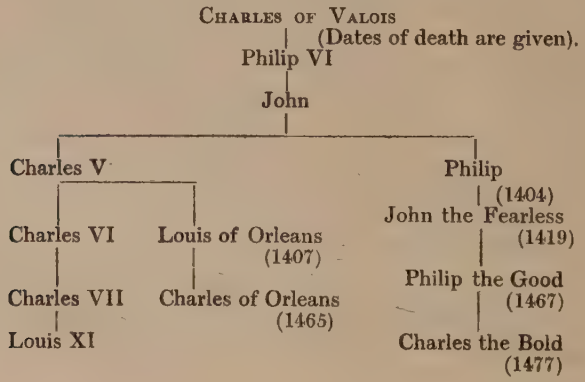
(Dates of death are given).



the final failure of the Hundred Years' War was to show the ultimate vanity of his claims.

In 1414 the time seemed propitious for the extension of the English power in France. Since 1393 the French king Charles VI had been subject at intervals to loss of his reason. During these attacks the question of the regency to be provided for the kingdom had resulted in terrible discords between the two branches of the royal family which expected to hold the power. In the reign of Henry IV, the English government had not been entirely consistent, although on the whole prince Henry had advocated an alliance with the Burgundian party. Clearly there had been an idea in England that an invasion of France might be undertaken one day, and that an understanding with one or other of the two parties might be advantageous to us. Such an understanding Henry V soon entered into with the Duke of Burgundy.

This was John "the Fearless," the second of the four Burgundian dukes of the Valois house.



Since the death of his father Philip in 1404, John had naturally held great influence at the court of Charles VI, and no doubt would always have administered the regency during the king's madness, but for the predilections of Charles who favoured the pretensions of his nephew Charles of Orleans. The murder of the elder duke, Louis of Orleans at Paris, in 1407, established a state of civil war between the Burgundian and the Armagnac party, as the faction of Charles of Orleans was called, owing to the predominant position in his party of his father-in-law, the powerful Gascon Count of Armagnac. In 1414 the Orleanists with the support of Charles VI had gained the upper hand at court, and even in Paris itself, where up till then the Duke of Burgundy had enjoyed great popularity. John the Fearless, to regain his great position, was prepared to accept the overtures of Henry V.

Henry was now ready to break the twenty-five years' truce made in 1396. In 1414 he held two parliaments. The first, which was at Leicester, assembled on the last day of April. Reference was made in a petition of the commons to the king's "adversary of France,"[1] but the question was not debated. In the same parliament the king, at the request of the estates, created his brother John Duke of Bedford, and his brother Humphrey Duke of Gloucester. His cousin Richard, son of Edmund Duke of York, was made Earl of Cambridge. At the

[1] *Rolls of Parl.*, IV, 22.

same time Edward Duke of York, whose fidelity had always, and with reason, been under a cloud, was declared to be a good and loyal liege. To Leicester came envoys both from the king of France (that is, the Armagnac party)[1] and from the dukes of Burgundy. Doubtless, the Armagnacs offered terms of peace, while Burgundy offered support in war. Henry prudently sent English envoys to both,[2] to consider the terms of each party. The envoys sent to the king of France were the bishops of Durham and Norwich. They asked for more than the French Government was disposed to give; so returning they denounced the "treachery" of the French, so that Henry felt justified in threatening war at once. About Michaelmas[3] a great council of the magnates of the kingdom, nobles and prelates, was held at Westminster, and the king formally asked their advice regarding his claim to the crown of France. They stated their confidence that the king would do nothing in so important a matter except to the pleasure of God and to avoid the effusion of Christian blood. They recommended that he should

[1] C. L. Kingsford, *First Life*, xliii–iv, quotes from an unpublished manuscript of Streeche (Addit. MS., 35295, f. 266), which says that on 27 February, 1414, at Kenilworth, the French ambassadors derisively offered to send to Henry "little balls to play with, and soft cushions to rest on, until what time he should grow to a man's strength." Henry, though greatly angered, replied shortly: "If God so wills and my life lasts, I will within a few months play such a game of ball in the Frenchman's streets that they shall lose their jest, and gain but grief for their game." This is the historical authority for the famous incident of the tennis-balls (Shakespeare, *King Henry V*, Act I, Sc. 2). It is tolerably certain that the incident never took place.

[2] Walsingham, op. cit., II, 300.

[3] *Ibid.*, 302.

send ambassadors to France for further negotiations, and in the meantime that every preparation should be made for invading that kingdom.[1]

The second parliament of the year 1414 was held about the middle of November.[2] It was clear that war was imminent. In the convocation which had just come to an end, the clergy had granted the king two-tenths of their revenue—a large subsidy necessary for purposes of war. The estates of the realm did likewise. The cause of the summons was stated by the Chancellor at the opening of parliament to be that the king desired to recover his inheritance outside England. By inheritance, perhaps only Normandy, Anjou and the lost portions of Aquitaine were meant. The Chancellor did not mention any claim to the crown of France. A special grant of two-fifteenths and two-tenths of all movable property of all subjects was made, to be levied in the accustomed manner—the fifteenths to be paid by the counties and the tenths by the towns. But the estates of parliament at the same time requested that another embassy should be sent to France to try the effect of negotiations before the invasion was definitely undertaken.[3]

Accordingly, in the beginning of 1415 Thomas Beaufort, Earl of Dorset, uncle of the king and Admiral of England, Richard, Lord Grey and the

[1] *Proc. of Privy Council*, II, IX, 140–2.
[2] *Rolls of Parl.*, IV, 34.
[3] *Proc. of Privy Council*, II, 150.

bishops of Durham and Norwich went on a grand embassy to Paris with 600 cavaliers.[1] Charles was at this time in possession of his faculties, and with the Duke of Orleans had arranged a treaty of peace with John of Burgundy. He readily consented on 24 January [2] to renew the truce at present existing between France and England. The other terms of the English envoys could not, however, be accepted. In the first place, they demanded that the crown and kingdom of France should be restored to the English king, a claim on which evidently they had authority from Henry V not to insist. Seeing that it would not be granted by Charles VI, the envoys proceeded to offer an alternative series of terms: firstly, the cession by France to England of Normandy, Anjou, Maine, Touraine; the grant of feudal suzerainty over Brittany and Flanders; the cession of all the portions of Aquitaine which had been occupied by French forces, and generally the cession of all lands and jurisdictions which had been ceded to Edward III at the treaty of Bretigny (or Calais), in 1360. Such was the first demand.

The second was the cession of half of Provence, with the castles and domains of Beaufort and Nogent, which were claimed as part of the Lancastrian family inheritance.

The third demand was for payment of all arrears of the ransom of king John of France, who had been

[1] Monstrelet, op. cit., I, 210.
[2] *Foedera*, IX, 196.

captured by the Black Prince at Poitiers in 1356. The arrears were calculated at 1,600,000 French crowns.

The last demand was that two million crowns should be given as the portion of the princess Katherine, daughter of Charles VI, on marrying Henry V. This marriage was really the prime condition and a guarantee of good faith on both sides.

To every point the Duke of Berry, acting on behalf of Charles VI, replied specifically; with regard to the territorial concessions demanded, the French government would cede the greater part of the Agenais, Bazadais, Auch, Perigord, Lectoure, Oleron, Bigorre, Saintonge to the south of the Charente, Quercy, Angoumois and Rouergue. This, with the parts of Aquitaine already held by the English, would restore that Duchy to something near the limits occupied by Henry II.

With respect to the arrears of king John's ransom, the Duke of Berry stated that as the French king was ready to give up so much territory, the English might be content to ask no more for the present; and with respect to a dowry for the princess Katherine, Charles would give six hundred thousand crowns of gold, although that was a greater sum than the kings of France were wont to give with their daughters.

The English negotiators continued a short time longer in Paris. They reduced the sum demanded as a dowry with the princess Katherine from two millions to one million crowns. The French government raised their offer from 600,000 to 800,000 crowns,

and in addition guaranteed to see that the princess had a suitable wardrobe provided when she went to be married.[1] But the envoys of Henry V, unable to accept these concessions, returned to England without accomplishing anything. Yet the French had offered something very substantial, and, indeed, it seems a pity that Henry could not be content with the Duchy of Aquitaine. It was bound to the English crown by old ties of commerce and of history ; it was perhaps the only part of France where the inhabitants, in the great maritime towns at least, looked with favour on the English connection.

With the return of the ambassadors the invasion of France became certain. On 18 March the king commissioned two knights to go to Holland and Zealand to contract with the merchants and captains there for ships for the king's service.[2] About the same time (the document is not dated) a great council seems to have been held at Westminster, in which the king announced the failure of the negotiations in Paris. At another council held on 16, 17 and 18 April the king reiterated his determination to invade France and appointed his brother, the Duke of Bedford, to be lieutenant of the kingdom in his absence. A council of eight was at the same time appointed to assist the duke ; it consisted of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Winchester and Durham, the Earl of Westmoreland, the Prior of the hospital

[1] Full text of negotiations in Rymer, *Foedera*, IX, 208–15.
[2] *Ibid.*, 215.

of St. John, the Lords Grey of Ruthin, Berkeley, Powis and Morley.[1]

Throughout the spring and summer preparations went on busily for the war. King Henry spent his time partly at the palace of Westminster, partly at Winchester and other places in the South of England. Meanwhile a last attempt was made by the French government to avert by a peaceful treaty the coming war. In June [2] came the Count of Vendôme, the Archbishop of Bourges, the Bishop of Lisieux and four others. They crossed from Calais to Dover and proceeded to Canterbury. With their companions and attendants they numbered 350 cavaliers. After going to London, they went down to Winchester, and appeared in front of the king, his brothers the Dukes of Clarence, Bedford and Gloucester and other magnates of the realm. The Archbishop of Bourges explained with great vigour and clearness the offers of the French government in territory and money. The speech created a good impression, although the terms being little or no better than those formerly offered, were unacceptable to Henry. After this speech the French envoys dined with the king. On one of the following days, the king's reply was given by the mouth of Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury. The conclusion of the answer was that peace would be made if the French would cede Aquitaine, Normandy, Anjou, Touraine and certain

[1] *Proc. of Privy Council*, II, 155–7.
[2] Rymer, *Foedera*, IX, 282.

other counties. King Henry, standing by, added that Chichele had spoken truly. At this the fiery Archbishop of Bourges broke out into defiant speech, saying that the offers already made by the French had been made not out of fear, but only to prevent the shedding of innocent or Christian blood. And he added that with the help of God and the Virgin, Henry would be driven out of France or be captured or die there. The king received these defiant words with equanimity, and dismissed the envoys with a safe conduct and handsome presents.[1]

Nothing now remained but to complete the mobilisation of the army. Although the truce with France was prolonged by short periods till 15 July, yet from the very beginning of the year most of the noblemen of England had been specially retained and paid for the king's service. For although the nobility were bound to serve the king in arms by reason of their feudal tenure of land, yet this obligation only extended to forty days each year; so that for an expedition which was to last longer, the king had to make a special agreement with his barons and knights and to retain their services by payment. By an agreement made in November, 1414, the king had arranged to pay the barons from the beginning of the expedition, and thereafter for an entire year. Although the invasion of France did not actually take place till August, yet the nobles were considered to be under arms from April. By the terms of his

[1] Monstrelet, op. cit., I, 216–8; Waurin, op. cit., 175–8.

agreement, the king had to pay them for the first quarter of the year's service at the beginning of the expedition, and for the second and third quarters at the end of the second. Accordingly, the first payment was duly made in April. But the king found that there would not be sufficient money in the treasury to pay the nobles for the second and third quarters together; so he had to ask the lords to waive their right to payment in advance and to accept their wages at the end of each quarter. This the lords agreed to, and received the warm thanks of the king.[1]

The expeditionary force was raised by contracts with individual barons and knights. There were three different ways of collecting an army in medieval England. One was by calling out the feudal levy, which consisted of all men who held their lands by military tenure. These were bound to serve for forty days each year and might be called on to stay at home or to go abroad. The second method was to call out all freemen, to "array" them according to the arms they were legally bound to carry, and to choose as many of them as were required for the king's service at the time. But the men thus raised by "commissions of array" could not in strict law be required to serve anywhere out of England. Neither the feudal levy nor the host of freemen was suitable for a prolonged French war, so Henry V left them for the defence of England while he was away.[2] For his

[1] *Proc. of the Privy Council*, II, 151.

[2] Cp. Rymer, *Foedera*, IX, 253–4, "de arraiatione facienda," 28 August, 1415.

expeditionary force he used the third method, that of raising men under a voluntary system, by contract or "indenture."

By these indentures the king contracted with particular nobles or knights to give their own services to him and also to provide a stated number of men-at-arms, archers and so forth. The indenture fixed the rate of remuneration for the contracting noble or officer, and also the daily rate of wages for the men he was to provide. The total sum of money was paid quarterly to the officer, who then disbursed the wages to his men and was responsible for their payment.

The pay of contracting officers and of nearly all the soldiers varied according to their social, not according to their military rank. A duke (there were only royal dukes at this time) was allowed 13s. 4d. for each day; an earl 5s. 3d.; a knight banneret 4s.; a simple knight (or "chevalier") 2s.; an esquire 12d. These formed the "men-at-arms," that is, the heavy armoured cavalry. Thus the indenture made between the king and his brother the Duke of Clarence states that the duke will keep for a complete year 240 men-at-arms, including himself. In addition, he was to provide 720 "archers on horse." These latter were to receive 6d. each day.[1] Sometimes the contractor was bound to keep simple archers, not horsed. But this seems to have made no difference to the archers' pay. The horses were only to help them to get about the country, not for use in battle. In addition to his

[1] Rymer, *Foedera*, IX, 227.

daily pay, the contracting officer received a " regard " or bounty of 100 marks (£66 13s. 4d.) for every thirty men-at-arms that he raised. The king also bound himself to provide at his own cost shipping to take the men, their horses, armour, and victuals to and from the Continent. A duke was allowed to bring 50 horses for himself, an earl 24, a knight banneret 6, a chevalier 6, an esquire 4 and a horse-archer 1. Everyone had to provide his own horses. Also the men had to provide their own victuals ; no mention of the king's providing food is made in any of the indentures. The pay of the men was sufficiently generous to enable them to provide food for themselves. When markets failed victuals might be requisitioned in the invaded districts. However, the king did provide some form of commissariat. There are writs in the first part of 1415 in which the king orders carts and live-stock to be collected for the army invading France. This commissariat would be used for any of the various emergencies that might happen in the course of the campaign.

An important part of each indenture is the clause respecting booty and prisoners. All prisoners were to belong to the captors, who would thus make all the profit out of the ransom. But this rule did not apply to the French king, or his son, or chief officers. These were to be given up to the English king, who would then pay a suitable compensation to the captor. The king was to get one-third part of the share of booty which fell to each contracting officer.

For, out of the booty taken by his men, the officer received one-third, which he then had to divide with the king. The gains of the king were all to be accounted for at the royal exchequer. The king was to share in all gains, both of prisoners and booty, of more than ten marks' value.[1]

The contractors had to have their troops mustered, mostly in May, in some cases in June. Meanwhile the king was busy arranging for transport and other necessaries. A great deal of thought went towards this war, and the details were personally overseen by the king and admirably organised. Shipping was a prime necessity. The royal navy at this time scarcely existed. When ships were needed the government was in the habit of commissioning them for the particular purpose in view, and dismissing them when the purpose was accomplished. There were two main ways of procuring ships: one was by contract and the other was by seizure. Henry V adopted both means. In March and April, 1415, he sent officers over to Holland to contract with the masters for the loan of their ships to the king. The officers were empowered to make all the necessary arrangements regarding the amount of time the ships were to be at the disposal of the king and the sum of money to be paid for their hire. The masters and owners were to bring the ships to London, Sandwich and Winchelsea, there to hand them over to the king's men.

English ships were summarily seized for the king's

[1] Rymer, *Foedera*, IX, 232.

service. In April the king gave authority to Nicholas Manduyt, a sergeant-at-arms, to arrest all ships with a capacity of twenty casks or more lying in the Thames and in any other harbours northwards up to and including Newcastle. These arrested ships were to be brought by 8 May to Southampton, Winchelsea, Sandwich, London. Another officer was authorised to arrest for the king's use all ships with a capacity of twenty casks or more lying in harbours south and west from the Thames to Bristol. In the same way, mariners were pressed to man such ships.[1] Pressed sailors were paid wages at the usual rate of 3½d. a day, together with a bounty of 6d. a week ;[2] but no compensation was made to the owners of arrested ships ; these were only secured against total loss while in the king's service.

The ships in the king's service were brought together in no less than four ways. There were firstly the royal ships owned by the king ; these were " la Katerine de la Toure," " la Trinité Royale," " la petite Trinité de la Toure," " la Gabriell de la Toure," " la petite Marie de la Toure," " la rude Cog de la Toure." [3] Next there were the ships provided by the Cinque Ports according to their charters. Then there were ships specially hired, for instance, from Hollanders for the king's service. Finally, there were private ships impressed by royal commissioners.

[1] *Foedera*, IX, 219–38.
[2] *Black Book of the Admiralty*, I, 12.
[3] *Foedera*, IX, 238.

The fleet thus assembled, in the Thames, at Winchelsea, Sandwich, Southampton, Portsmouth, had to carry a great army. There were 2500 men-at-arms and 8000 archers. In addition there was a large number of non-combatants, carpenters, smiths and others necessary for a war in which towns had to be captured, forts built, as well as much technical work done in the daily camp of the army. There were physicians and surgeons at a shilling a day, and minstrels to be paid "what is usual." [1] In all, the total number of people who followed Henry V to Normandy may have reached about 30,000 men.

The expense of getting together so large an army was enormous. The ordinary revenues of the king and the special grants of parliament proved quite insufficient. Funds ran out in the second quarter of the year, three months before the expedition sailed. On 30 May the king was obliged to pledge his jewels. These were given into the custody of the Bishop of Norwich as trustee, on the condition that they were to return to the king if at any time within the next year and a half he should be able to satisfy the claims for overdue pay. It was the contracting nobles who suffered in this way. Their men would generally have to get daily pay from their officers by some means or other.

Many expedients were adopted to raise money. The credit of the king was pledged as far as it would go; loans were raised wherever possible, and the

[1] *Ibid.*, IX, 253.

loyalty of his subjects was strained by pressure from the king. A good instance of the way in which loans were raised from Englishmen is seen in a writ dated from Reading on 10 May, in which the king requests those to whom his representatives apply, to lend him such sums of money as these officers are authorised to demand. Security for repayment of the loan is promised, but not specified. The wording of the writ is curt and decisive, and must have convinced everyone who heard it that the lending of money was not optional.[1] Undoubtedly these were forced loans, but it was equally clear that the king meant to pay them back punctually. On 7, 8, 11, 16 June there are writs directing that repayment of certain loans be made "after the feast of St. John the Baptist," that is 24 June. In the case of each loan repayment is to be made out of the dues in certain "ports": Sandwich, Ipswich and Boston. The loans are for small sums: the men of Canterbury had lent £66 13s. 4d.; the men of Sudbury £36 13s. 4d.; the city and county of Bristol £240; the Bishop of Hereford £100; the Bishop of Lincoln £40. These were to receive back the principal of their loans, but there is no mention of interest or consideration for the use of the principal.[2]

Foreign merchants trading in England also contributed. Paul de Melan, merchant of Lucca, lent £133 6s. 8d.; Nicholas de Malyn and his company,

[1] *Ibid.*, IX, 241
[2] *Ibid.*, 268–9.

merchants of Venice, lent £666 13s. 4d.; Laurentius de Albertis and others, merchants of Florence, lent the same amount. English merchants were probably taxed through the customs as heavily as they could bear; but after the expedition had sailed, Richard Whittington, the famous Londoner, lent £466 13s. 4d., and sent the money over to Harfleur, a very welcome help to the king in carrying on the siege.

It required more than every penny which the king had to keep his army on foot till the expedition sailed. It is clear that in many cases he could not pay his indentured nobles at all. Instead, he had to promise payment at a future date, e.g. 1 January, 1416, and to pledge even his crown as security, with the condition that if payment was not made by 1 January, 1416, the noble could sell the jewels of the crown without any impediment from the king and his heirs.[1]

At last the expedition was ready to sail. Southampton seems to have been the chief port of embarkation, but ships were also waiting at neighbouring harbours. Then the unexpected happened; the popular young king, busy with the details of an expedition against the hereditary foe of England, was suddenly faced with a great conspiracy. The head of it was Richard, Earl of Cambridge, although one chronicler seems to think that the idea originated with Sir Henry le Scrope. The conspiracy was quickly

[1] *Ibid.*, 284–5.

crushed, and is only significant as showing that in no reign was the Lancastrian title unchallenged. Arising at the time it did—it is said to have been the very night before the expedition was to sail [1]—the conspiracy must have been a severe shock to the ambitious young monarch ; but with the inflexibility of will which characterised him, he did not allow the dynastic danger to make any alteration in his plans for invading France. Indeed, the only safe course was to go on as if nothing had happened.

Richard of Cambridge, as the son of Edmund, Duke of York, and grandson of Edward III, had a sort of hereditary claim to the throne, which claim, however, he had never advanced. According to the confession which he made about 5 August, after the discovery of the conspiracy, he with Sir Henry le Scrope and Sir Thomas Grey had arranged with the Earl of March that the latter should be taken away into Wales and proclaimed king there. Thus Richard was not claiming the crown for himself. A certain David Howell had promised to deliver up some royal castles in North Wales ; and two northern gentlemen, Umfraville and Wederington, had planned to bring the Scots over the border.[2] At the same time, Oldcastle and the Lollards, as if by arrangement,[3] were beginning to threaten to rise. It was suspected, too, that the French government had encouraged the

[1] Holinshed, *Chronicle*, 548. The conspiracy was discovered on 20 July.

[2] *Foedera*, IX, 300–1.

[3] Walsingham, op. cit., II, 306

conspiracy with money, so as to delay or altogether arrest the expedition of Henry V.[1]

Richard of Cambridge communicated his design to the Earl of March, who is said to have taken the matter into consideration for a night and then to have informed the king.[2] A court of peers was set up at Southampton on 5 August, and the Duke of Clarence, the king's brother, sat at the head of it. The king took no part in the trial; Richard of Cambridge, Scrope and Grey were found guilty of treason and were decapitated.[3] It was owing to the mercy of the king that they did not suffer the disgraceful penalty of hanging.

The Earl of Cambridge had signed his confession to the king at Southampton on 5 August, and the execution must have followed shortly after. Six days later, 11 August, the king sailed for France. He had already made his will on 24 July, at Southampton. It is a simple, pious document, ending with a subscription in the king's own hand: "This is my last will subscribed with my own hand R. H. Jesu Mercy and Gremercy Ladie Marie help."[4] On the day of his departure, he signed a commission appointing his second brother, John, Duke of Bedford, to be Warden and Lieutenant of England[5] during his absence. On the same day[6] he sailed from

[1] *Ibid.*; *Memorials of Henry V*, 41.
[2] Waurin, op. cit., 182.
[3] Walsingham, op. cit., II, 306.
[4] *Foedera*, IX, 293.
[5] *Ibid.*, 305, "Custodem et locum nostrum tenentem."
[6] *Memorials of Henry V*, 106.

Portsmouth, and picking up the rest of his fleet which had come from the other ports, made for the Norman coast. It was calculated that he had in all 1500[1] ships following him.

[1] Walsingham, op. cit., II, 307; Monstrelet, op. cit., I, 218, says 1600; Waurin, op. cit., 184, says 800.

CHAPTER VII

HARFLEUR

THE only port of France held by the English at this time was Calais, which offered a safe entry to English ships, and also was near the Flemish domains of the friendly Duke of Burgundy. But king Henry did not intend to invade France through Calais. Instead, he planned first to invade and conquer Normandy, the old duchy of the kings of England. The maritime key[1] to Normandy was Harfleur, at the mouth of the Seine. The king of France had no navy to stop the English invasion. So Henry resolved to land near Harfleur, and after capturing it to make it the base for a regular expansion of England over the rest of Normandy. Although he embarked on 11 August, the passage was not quickly made, perhaps owing to a fire which broke out in three of his vessels, so that he did not arrive off Harfleur till the night of 14 August.[2] His army was disembarked at "Chef de Caux," a small port or probably fishing village about three miles below Harfleur. This place, then of the greatest importance, has now become useless as a port owing to

[1] "La clef sur la mer de toute Normandie"; Monstrelet, op. cit., I, 218.

[2] *Ibid.*

the silting up of mud from the Lézarde, the small stream on which Harfleur is situated. Its place has been taken by Le Havre-de-Grâce, which was not founded when Henry V landed at Chef de Caux.

The king took up his lodging in a neighbouring priory (Graville), and proceeded to invest Harfleur. The town was poorly garrisoned, with 400[1] men-at-arms who had been sent by the French government, under the Seigneur d'Estouteville. But among these men-at-arms were soldiers of high family and great courage, like the Seigneurs Gaucourt and de l'Isle-Adam. The townspeople were organised under these gentlemen, and a stout resistance was offered to the English as long as it was hoped the French king might be able to come and relieve the town.

In a short time the town was completely invested. The English army was well equipped both with the rude cannon that had been in use in Europe for about fifty years and with the very serviceable siege-engines—catapults, rams and so forth—which were the great weapons in early medieval sieges. The lines of investment consisted of a trench and an earthen rampart,[2] which enabled the besiegers to ward off any sallies from the town and also to prevent any supplies being taken in. The blockade was well kept, for no communications took place between the besieged and the French government, except with the permission of king Henry. Although there were

[1] *Ibid.*, Waurin, op. cit., 185, says 300.
[2] *Memorials of Henry V*, 42.

some low hills in the neighbourhood on which the great officers pitched their tents,[1] the country immediately round Harfleur was low and marshy and the English army suffered greatly from dysentery. Victuals seem to have failed, for much that came by the ships was spoiled in the passage, while the country-side soon ceased to be able to supply much food.[2] The army of king Henry, like all the English armies in France, aimed at making war support war. All available food was requisitioned from the rural inhabitants. But good discipline was to be maintained and common humanity shown. For on landing in Normandy, Henry had made a proclamation through the army that no churches should be plundered, no priests ill-treated, nor children hurt, nor women injured; this order was to be observed by everyone on pain of death.[3] The intention of the king was good, but it was impossible to supervise all the soldiers when they were foraging; it is no surprise therefore to learn that the inhabitants of the country suffered many injuries.[4]

King Henry showed himself an energetic and able officer throughout the siege. He was continually inspecting the lines. Putting off all insignia of royalty, he would go round the town looking at the walls, to see how Harfleur could best be taken, and where it was most suitable to place his large engines.

[1] T. Livius, *Vita Henrici Quinti*, 9.
[2] Waurin, op. cit., 186.
[3] *Memorials of Henry V*, 41.
[4] Waurin, op. cit., 185.

Harfleur had two great gates, one on the side of the estuary, the other on the opposite side towards Montivilliers, and from these the besieged daily issued and assaulted the lines of the great English army. But the English archery easily drove back these parties, which retired again behind the high walls and deep wide ditches that encircled the town.

Meanwhile the French government showed some activity, having a good force collected at Rouen under Marshal Boucicault. A convoy was sent with a large supply of powder and arrows to the besieged, but king Henry, knowing of its approach, sent a force which successfully intercepted it and captured the powder and arrows for the English army. Three mines were made under the wall of Harfleur, and under the continual fire from the siege-artillery the gates and towers began to show signs of weakness. At last, a month after the siege began, a parley was entered into between the men of Harfleur and king Henry; and it was arranged that the town would capitulate unless relieved within three days. This must have been a welcome arrangement to the English king, in whose army 2000 men had already died of dysentery.[1] The conditions in the camp were frightful. The remains of the cattle which were slaughtered for the daily food of the army lay around and rotted in the camp and corrupted the air. The soldiers pillaged the country orchards, and the apples which they ate only aggravated the disease. The

[1] *Ibid.*, 186.

nights were cold and in the low, damp country round the town the health of the army went from bad to worse.[1] Nevertheless, king Henry put a good face on the matter, and showed no desire for peace when the townsmen came to parley with him. This was on 18 September. The commanders of Harfleur, the Seigneurs d'Estouteville and Gaucourt, sent a sergeant-at-arms to the Duke of Clarence, praying him to use his good offices with his brother the king in favour of peace. The Duke prevailed upon the king to open formal communications. The French commanders asked for a truce till Michaelmas Day, which was a Sunday. If no support came from the outside by that time, they would surrender on condition that their lives and property were guaranteed. The king curtly replied that unless the town surrendered the very next day, the 19th, without conditions, they need never open negotiations again. But the French objected strongly, and the king's councillors earnestly advised him to modify his terms. At last it was arranged that a truce should be permitted till the following Sunday, the 22nd, at nine o'clock. The French nobles swore that if by that time no help came from the king of France or the Dauphin, the whole town would surrender without conditions respecting life or property. Meanwhile hostages were to be given for the keeping of the promise, and an oath sworn.

King Henry then gave safe-conducts to the French

[1] Walsingham, op. cit., II, 309.

officer, the Seigneur de Hakevyle, who was to go to the camp of the Dauphin, at Vernon-sur-Seine, for assistance. Next morning, the hostages, knights and citizens, issued from the city, a solemn procession, bearing the Eucharist with them, for the oath that they were to swear to king Henry. After the oath had been publicly taken, they were introduced into the great tent of the king and given breakfast. But they did not see the king. After breakfast they were assigned to various English lords for safe-keeping.[1] The envoys from Harfleur who went for help to the Dauphin, found him at Vernon-sur-Seine, and explained that Harfleur must be relieved in three days or surrender unconditionally. To this " it was gently answered that the forces of the king of France were not yet collected or ready to afford them succour so hastily." [2] So they returned, faithful to their arrangement, on Sunday, 22 September, and Harfleur was surrendered.

On the next day the king made his entry. It is said that when he came to the gate of the town, he dismounted from his horse, took off his shoes and went barefoot to the church of St. Martin's to pray and return thanks for his success.[3] The officers of the garrison and the more important men of the town were kept as prisoners to be ransomed ; the rest of the inhabitants were divided into two lots : one lot

[1] Walsingham, op. cit., II, 308–9.
[2] Waurin, op. cit., 187.
[3] Saint-Remy, I, 229.

were allowed to swear allegiance to king Henry, and to stay in the town; the others to the number of 2000,[1] consisting chiefly of women and children, were sent away "to the interior parts of France." They left their homes, weeping for their fate. The king had them escorted up the right bank of the Seine as far at Lillebonne, so that they should not be molested by the soldiery. At Lillebonne they were taken over by officials of the French crown and conducted to Marshal Boucicault, who was in command at Rouen. The expulsion of the poor inhabitants of Harfleur is a piteous story, yet French chroniclers commend Henry for his humanity on this occasion. He did not give them up to the horrors of the sack, and he allowed the women to take what property they could carry away.[2]

Harfleur was to become an English town like Calais, peopled by Englishmen. A proclamation was ordered to be made in London (and no doubt in other towns) asking for men to come over and to fix their homes in Harfleur, where they would be allowed to take up houses without payment. The English colonisation was not very successful; a fair number of the old French inhabitants must have remained, for in 1435 the recapture of the town by the French was due to support given by their compatriots within.

Before proceeding further with his enterprise, the king sent the "Guienne Herald" to the Dauphin,

[1] *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, 33.
[2] *Religieux de St. Denys*, V, 544.

probably at Vernon, challenging him to single combat, so that the war might be ended and great effusion of blood saved. Eight days were allowed for the Dauphin to reply, but there was no answer.

Meanwhile the king had held a council of his barons and had put to them the question : should the army return by sea to England, or should it push forward through the land of Normandy to Calais? The majority of the council, considering the great losses which the army had sustained, the number of sick who must in any case return to England, and the large forces which the Dauphin was known to have collected, advised that Henry should withdraw his forces from France, leaving only the garrison of Harfleur to uphold his power for the present. This decision must have troubled the king, for although he was an experienced soldier and general, yet it is no easy thing for a man of twenty-eight years to reject the advice of all the experienced and senior officers of the army. Yet he seems not to have hesitated for a moment. Being used to making decisions and to facing responsibility, he stated his view shortly and clearly to the council : " I have a great desire to see my lands and places that should be mine by right. Let them assemble their greatest armies, there is hope in God that they will hurt neither my army nor me. I will not suffer them, puffed up with pride, to rejoice in misdeeds, nor unjustly, against God, to possess my goods. They would say that through fear I had fled away, acknowledging the injustice of my

cause. But I have a mind, my brave men, to encounter all dangers, rather than let them brand your king with word of ill-will. With the favour of God, we will go unhurt and inviolate, and, if they attempt to stay us, victorious and triumphant in all glory." [1]

With these brave words the king made known his decision. It was the greatest crisis of his reign. For had he returned to England, with a decimated army and overwhelmed with debt, he could not have escaped bankruptcy, nor, what is worse, a loss of confidence among the people, which would have more than shaken the unstable Lancastrian throne. So he took the heroic decision to go forward and win another realm to add to England, or to die at the head of his men, fighting in the heart of France. Leaving his uncle, the Earl of Dorset, in command at Harfleur with 1200 men, he set out on 8 October, with his little army, "in three divisions and two squadrons, as was the habit of the English." [2] It was a desperate venture, which speaks volumes not merely for the determination of the king, but also of the men who ungrudgingly followed him against their own judgment. There was a curious buoyancy in the Englishmen of those days. Their fathers had followed the Black Prince and John of Gaunt through the length and breadth of France; now they themselves were ready to plunge into that populous kingdom, not as it seems in any vainglorious belief in the superiority

[1] T. Livius, op. cit., 12.
[2] *Ibid.*, cp. *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, 36.

of the English, but with the indifference of men to whom war is on a footing with any other means of livelihood and for whom death has no terror.

The army was nothing more than a flying column of 900 lances and 5000 archers.[1] For many had died of sickness during the siege, even well-cared-for nobles like the Bishop of Norwich and the Earl of Suffolk. Others, no less than 5000, including some of the king's barons, his brother the Duke of Clarence, and the Earls of March and Arundel were so ill that they had to be sent back to England. Besides the losses, it is said that desertions had not been infrequent during the siege, so that altogether the king's fighting men were reduced to less than half their original number. Each man was to carry with him food for eight days. The distance between Harfleur and Calais, with hostile forces said to be converging on every side,[2] with unbanked rivers to cross, swollen by the autumn rains, could not by any route be less than 200 miles.

[1] *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, 36. [2] *Ibid*

CHAPTER VIII

AGINCOURT

Upon St. Crispin's day
Was fought this noble fray,
Which fame did not delay
To England to carry.
O when shall Englishmen
With such acts fill a pen,
Or England breed again
Such a King Harry !

Drayton's *Ballad of Agincourt.*

THE march from Harfleur was remarkably well conducted, and is a great testimony to the powers of leadership of Henry V. The soldiers were allowed to receive from the inhabitants food for the day when necessary, but any exactions beyond this limit were forbidden under pain of death, as was also the burning of houses or the laying waste of property. There was very little resistance offered to the army as far as the Somme. Henry did not trouble to besiege the castles of Norman noblemen which lay in his way; he merely passed them by and left them behind him. The little towns of Normandy, as each was approached, were given the choice of being burned or letting the English pass quietly onwards, with a supply of provisions from

the townspeople.[1] The latter alternative was always chosen, and the army pursued its way without doing much damage to the country. Indeed the country-side had already, by the orders of the French governors, been stripped of most things that the English were likely to want, so that in spite of Henry's carefulness and sternness, food for horse and man was only obtained in meagre quantities.[2]

The army left Harfleur on 8 October, 1415, and marched up the pleasant green valley of the Lézarde, taking the regular highway that connected the most northerly towns of what is now called Seine Inférieure. By 11 October, the army had reached the little town of Arques, beside which was a strong castle, standing as medieval castles so often did, at the junction of two streams, the Béthune and the Eaulne. The town is four miles to the south-east of Dieppe. Henry was here faced with a difficulty: for the castle was strong (it is said to have been thoroughly fortified by the English king Henry II), and it commanded the narrow bridges over the streams, which were too deep for the army to ford. Henry drew up the army in front of the castle: the garrison replied by shooting great stones at the English, which, however, fell short. But Henry had a plan for bringing the lord of the castle to reason. The little town was in the lordship of Arques. Henry promised to burn the whole town and district, if the lord did not let him pass. So it was arranged that the English should

[1] *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, 38. [2] Livius, *Vita Henrici Quinti*, 12.

have free passage of the bridges, and should also receive a certain amount of food and wine, while in return the town and district should not be laid waste. The army then passed through the town of Arques, where they found that the trunks of great trees had been laid across the streets, to form barricades for a defence that was not attempted.[1]

Next day, Saturday, 12 October, the army passed by Eu, half-way between Dieppe and Abbeville. They left the town about half a mile on the left, because there was a strong French force in it. This force sallied out and made a dash at the English, but was driven back, not, however, without inflicting some losses on its opponents. Near Eu, the army crossed the Brésle, a small stream which was the boundary between Normandy and Picardy. At this stage of the journey, a rumour spread through the army that all the French forces were going to give battle to the English on the following day, Sunday, or else the day after. The site of the expected battle was probably the famous ford over the Somme, at Blanchetaque below Abbeville. But some doubt was felt whether there was a French army in the field at all; for it was believed that the dissensions between the party of Burgundy and Armagnac were preventing any organised resistance on the part of the French government. But if Henry was relying for his safety on his alliance with the Duke of Burgundy he was taking a very serious risk.

[1] *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, 37.

On 14 October, Henry and his army arrived at Blanchetaque, having marched at least 106 miles, and probably much further owing to digressions. They had been on the route just over six days. At Blanchetaque the bridge was broken, and the bed of the river at the ford defended by sharp wooden stakes and piles.[1] There was, moreover, a strong force of French on the opposite side. So the king had to take his army up the left bank of the river, towards the interior of France, looking for a ford. In spite of the many campaigns the English had made in France, it is clear that the knowledge of French topography among Henry and his officers was of the vaguest. All that was known was that the army could cross " at the head of the river which was said to be distant more than sixty miles."[2]

At Pont Remy the crossing was again barred, by a force under the Seigneur Vaucourt ; in the face of this Henry dared not try to fight his way across, for the river at this point was just a broad marsh.[3] The army was now beginning to suffer both from hunger and disappointment. The eight days' rations, even eked out by scanty supplies from the country-side, had at last all but given out. It was impossible to cross the Somme, or to force the French to a battle, or to return to Harfleur without any food. The country had now been swept bare of supplies by the

[1] Livius, op. cit., 39.
[2] *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, 39.
[3] *Ibid.*, 40.

French; it would be useless to assault the walled towns. No other prospect seemed at hand than that at length the French forces should gather round a famished feeble army, and crush it almost without a blow. The chaplains and rough soldiers knelt down and raised their clasped hands to heaven, imploring God to save from the hands of the French the English king and people "who wanted peace not war," and to bring them, to his honour and glory, in triumph to Calais. "Thence, without hope we next day took the road towards the head of the river, leaving Amiens about a league on our left." [1]

At Boves the army was comforted by getting wine and bread and an unhindered passage over the little river Noye, a tributary of the Somme. Boves, although in Picardy, belonged to the Duke of Burgundy, who, like all medieval feudatories, had estates beyond the limits of his duchy. In spite of the peace between England and Burgundy, the captain of Boves Castle showed signs of opposing Henry, until the king threatened to burn the town and its vineyards. The men were wearied and in want; they indulged too freely in the wine, so Henry forbade them even to carry any away in their bottles, saying, they had made bottles of their bellies.[2] On 17 October, a sharp skirmish occurred with a French contingent which was stationed at Corbie. But the French were driven back to the town with some loss

[1] *Ibid.*
[2] *Ibid.*, 41, note 3.

on both sides. That night Henry hung a soldier who had stolen from a church a gilded cup in which the sacrament was kept. However dangerous was the situation of the king, he would allow no licence among his men.

But the army was still on the left bank of the Somme, and no nearer Calais. The country was unknown and hostile; to the fearful known dangers that overhung the devoted little army, were added the trials of uncertainty. For it was not known where the main forces of the French were, whether they were on the right bank of the Somme or near by on the left. On the 17th, the same day on which the skirmish with the men from Corbie took place, it was believed that a large force of French cavalry was at hand, and about to attack the English. It was to meet this expected onslaught that the defence of sharpened stakes was adopted for the archers,—a defence which although not used on this day, was adopted with great success in the next week at Agincourt. "The king made an order throughout the whole army, that each archer should prepare and fashion for himself one stake or stave, square or round, six feet in length, and of proportionate breadth, sharpened at each end, commanding that whenever the army of the French should approach, to give battle and to break the stations of the archers by means of their squadrons of horse, each man should fix his stake in front before him, and others should fix their stakes intermediately between the rest but

a little further back,—one end to be fixed in the ground, the other to slope upwards towards the enemy, at the height of a little more than the middle of a man; so that when the charging cavalry came near, they should be terrified by the sight of the stakes, and withdraw, or else, reckless of their own safety, both horse and man should imperil themselves upon the stakes." [1]

Next day the army marched across country so as to cut off a great bend which the Somme makes to the north-east between Amiens and Ham. Thus leaving the river they passed close to the small town of Nesle, and so were lost sight of by the French squadrons which, from the right bank of the Somme, had been keeping touch with their movements. The English army spent the night in the neighbouring hamlets of that populous and fertile country; and as the inhabitants of Nesle refused to pay a ransom for the immunity of the neighbourhood, Henry, next morning, 19 October, had the homesteads burned. It was at this time that the king learned (probably from some peasants anxious only that the English should go away) of the existence of a ford over the Somme about three miles away. Sending some horsemen on in front to test the crossing, he followed as quickly as possible. To get to the ford the army had to cross a mile of marshy country in an angle formed by the Somme and a small tributary. It was a most dangerous situation, but luckily there was no

[1] *Ibid.*, 42.

French force at hand to make an attack. When they reached the river they found the Somme fordable in two places called the fords of Voyennes and Bethencourt,[1] the depth of the water being just a little higher than the belly of a horse. The fords were approached by two causeways, which the French had broken up to prevent their being used by the English. It was just possible for horsemen to get along the causeways in single file. Henry accordingly sent across two knights, John Cornwall and Gilbert Unfraville, with a few "lances" and foot-archers, to hold the passage. The rest of the army was set to fill up the breaches in the causeways with timber, faggots and straw, brought for the purpose from the homesteads of the district. When the repairs were sufficiently carried out, the baggage of the army was sent over by one causeway, the fighting men by the other. The king waited till all had crossed, standing by one of the fords, to see that the men should cross in order, without confusion or blocking each other; the second ford was also watched by officers whom the king had deputed for the purpose. When only a hundred of the English had got across, French horsemen were seen issuing from the homesteads within three miles of the right bank. They belonged to the squadrons that had been told off to watch the English, and which had temporarily lost sight of them. Now they came hurrying up to see if they could still hold the passage. But

[1] *Ibid.*, 43, note 1.

those who first came near the ford were met so vigorously by the English horsemen who had already crossed, that they withdrew to collect their squadrons together. Then seeing how the English were now crossing in large numbers, and had a fine level field for fighting on foot, they withdrew out of sight. So the rest of the English army came over in peace; the total time consumed in the crossing was from one o'clock till nearly dark.

That night was happily passed by the army among the very homesteads from which the French horsemen had issued to hold the passage of the Somme. Everyone was glad that the river had been crossed without the long weary march to the head-waters, which would have meant another eight days' journeying. It was believed too among the soldiers, that the French army which was supposed to be waiting for the English at the head-waters of the Somme, would not now start and follow after the invaders.

But a surprise met the English soldiery next morning, when three heralds came from the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, to inform king Henry that the French army would offer battle to him before he reached Calais.[1] They were presented to the king by his cousin, the Duke of York. On receiving their message the king's countenance underwent no change; he replied "moderately, without anger, without any heightening of the colour of his face:

[1] *Ibid.*, 45.

'Let all things be done that are pleasing to God.'" And when the heralds asked by what road he would march, he replied: "Straight to Calais. And if our adversaries attempt to stop this road, they will do so to their own hurt and great peril. We indeed do not seek them; nor will fear make us move either more quickly or more slowly. Nevertheless, we do urge them not to hinder our way, nor to seek so great an effusion of Christian blood."[1] He then dismissed the heralds with a present of one hundred crowns, French money.

The army continued its march through this day, 20 October, without seeing the enemy. Next day, while they were passing near the walled town of Peronne, a demonstration was made by a body of French horse, with the object of drawing them within range of the artillery on the walls. The attempt was unsuccessful, as the English horse in a short time forced the enemy to retire within the walls. The army passed onwards, leaving Peronne about a mile on the left. They were now pressing due north, towards Calais. The road was found to be all trampled and cut up, showing that the French army had gone on before.

The three following days, 22, 23 and 24 October, passed without any event of importance. The only rivers of any size that lay in the way are the Canche and its tributary, the Ternoise. The Canche was crossed on the 22nd at Frevent, and the "River of

[1] Livius, op. cit., 14.

the Swords," as the English chroniclers call the Ternoise, on the 24th. There was a bridge over this river near Blangy.[1] Henry sent forward some knights and men-at-arms to hold it. When they reached it they found a body of French engaged in breaking it down. But the English knights at once made an onslaught on the French and drove them with much loss from the bridge, which was found to be practically uninjured. If the French had accomplished their design in breaking it down, it was believed that the English army would have been in a very grave situation.[2]

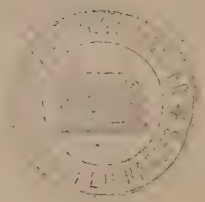
The route to Calais now lay through that country of low hills known as the "Collines de l'Artois." When the army had crossed the Ternoise the advance-guard, under the Duke of York, ascended a neighbouring eminence, and from there "we saw about a mile away black columns of the French issuing from a valley further up." They came onwards looking inconceivably numerous compared with the English, and halted at length at a distance of about half a mile, filling a very large field, "like an innumerable host of locusts, with only a small valley between them and us."[3]

King Henry, all his forces being now safely across the Ternoise, at once drew up the army in battle order, expecting an immediate conflict. Every

[1] See Nicolas, *Agincourt*, 100.
[2] T. Livius, op. cit., 15.
[3] *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, 46.

THE PLAN OF AGINCOURT.

Face page 148.



soldier who had not confessed, "assumed the arms of penitence, and the only scarcity there was at that time was a scarcity of priests." It was on this occasion that a knight, Sir Walter Hungerford, expressed a wish that the king had in addition to his small following, ten thousand of the good English archers who would be wanting to be with him. "To whom the king answered, 'You speak foolishly, for by the heaven of God, on whose grace I rely, and in whom is my firm hope of victory, I would not, even if I could, have one man more than I have. Do you not believe,' he said, 'that the Almighty can with this His small humble army overcome the pride opposed to us by the French, who glorify themselves with their numbers and their own strength?'—as though he meant, 'He can if He pleases.'" And the good chaplain who was with Henry and narrates these words, adds, that according to God's true justice no misfortune could befall a son of so much faith, just as none befell Judas Maccabæus until he fell to doubting, and then he came deservedly to ruin.[1]

The road to Calais passed a wood a little to the left of the English. The French, instead of offering battle now as was expected, moved away to another field behind this wood. Henry, fearing that if he kept still, the French under cover of the wood might execute some movement by which he would be surrounded, kept moving likewise, and had his army

[1] *Ibid.*, 47.

always facing the enemy. At last night came on, and found the armies still moving cautiously opposite each other. As the time was now obviously too late for fighting, the French settled down in the villages of Agincourt and Ruissauville, among the homesteads and orchards, to wait till morning.[1] The English too came to a halt, and in the quiet of the evening could hear the Frenchmen, as their manner was, shouting out for their attendants, their servants, their friends. But when the English began to do the same, Henry ordered silence throughout the whole army, on pain of the loss of horse and honours for a noble, and of the loss of the right ear for an inferior, without hope of pardon. The order was observed, and immediately in silence the army moved off to the little village of Maisoncelles, "where we had a very few houses and gardens and orchards for our rest, and rain in abundance almost the whole night."[2] The country was quite unknown to the English. They would not even have known how to go to the village, but that in the dark, the white surface of the road was observed which led them to Maisoncelles.[3] The French felt so confident of having the English in a trap, that during the night they were playing at dice for the ransom of Henry and his nobles.[4] About midnight a detachment of 2500 men from the French army, under the Count of Richemont (who was a step-

[1] Nicolas, *Agincourt*, 106.
[2] *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, 48.
[3] Livius, op. cit., 15.
[4] *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, 49; also Nicolas, *Agincourt*, 107.

brother of king Henry), made an assault on the English lines, in a storm of wind and rain. But the English were not taken by surprise, and beat off the attack.

At daybreak, St. Crispin's day, 25 October, the French were drawn up in battle-order in the large field that took its name from Agincourt, a village through which lay the road to Calais. The lowest estimate of their number is that given by the French chronicler, St. Remy, who was present in the English army; he computes the French at 50,000 men.[1] The ground which they occupied was wooded on either side, on the west towards Agincourt, on the east towards the village of Tramecourt. The ground between the woods was slightly depressed, so that the field of battle was well-defined and self-contained.

The French army was disposed, according to the regular medieval way, in three " battles " or divisions, one behind the other. Each division stretched completely across the ground between the woods of Agincourt and Tramecourt. The first, or " vaward " consisted of about 13,500 men; of these 8000 were men-at-arms, and 5500 were archers, who stood *behind* the men-at-arms.[2] They were all dismounted except some hundreds of knights and men-at-arms posted on the flanks with the object of charging upon the English archers.[3] This first division was 31 men

[1] Nicolas, op. cit., 76, 136
[2] Nicolas, op. cit., 110 (from des Ursins, 314).
[3] *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, 49.

deep,[1] and must accordingly have been between 400 and 500 men broad. The second division was probably dismounted too, but the third or rearward kept on horseback.[2] The men-at-arms were all armed with lances, which till the fight began they held erect, giving the appearance of a forest of weapons.[3]

King Henry, also, after prayers had been held and mass celebrated, drew up his army in three "battles" or divisions,[4] not, however, like the French, one behind the other, but each division in line with the other, so as completely to fill up the space between the two woods. Thus the English army had a front as broad as that of the French, but it was not so dense, being only four ranks deep. The middle division (main battle) was commanded by king Henry in person, clad in complete armour, including helmet and gold crown, shining with precious stones. He was mounted on a grey horse, but when the fight began, he led the army on foot. The right-hand division or vaward was commanded by the Duke of York; the left or rearward by the Lord Camoys. Each division had wings or wedges of archers, who had their pointed stakes ready to fix into the ground, against any charges of the French cavalry. Thick hedges and thorn-bushes on either side of the English army safeguarded it from any flank attack of the enemy. The distance between

[1] Livius, op. cit., 17.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, 49.
[4] Livius, op. cit., 16.

the two antagonists was between one-quarter and one-third of a mile.[1] The number of the English knights, men-at-arms, esquires and other fighting men (excluding archers) stretching across the field four ranks deep, but with large intervals at the extreme wings of each division, must have been under a thousand. The archers numbered about 5000.

The tension must have been very great on both sides, but most of all among the English who, few in number, in a hostile and almost unknown country, without provisions, had to watch the huge French army, not half a mile away, waiting quietly while every hour brought reinforcements from the fiefs of France. Evidently the design of the French was to starve the English out.[2] They thought it worth while, however, to offer Henry terms, promising him a safe journey to Calais, if he would give up Harfleur and his claim to the crown of France. But Henry never thought of acknowledging defeat. He offered, indeed, to give up Harfleur and the claim to the French crown, but demanded in return territorial concessions on the borders of Guienne, and in Ponthieu, and in addition the hand of the princess Katherine and a dowry of 800,000 crowns. He could have hardly asked more if his army had numbered 50,000 men and that of the French only 6000. On the same day when a French nobleman the Lord of

[1] *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, 49; Livius, op. cit., 16–18.
[2] *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, 50.

Helly offered to meet anyone in single combat, Henry curtly closed the negotiation by saying, "Get hence to your camp. We cannot believe that you will go as quickly as we when we break into your army."

Then not choosing to wait any longer, about an hour or an hour and a half before midday, Henry gave the order to advance. The baggage and the sick were left at the village of Maisoncelles, along with the chaplains. Only ten men-at-arms and twenty archers could be spared to guard them. The chaplain who wrote the life of the king, sat among the baggage on a horse, engaged in prayer, but also able to watch the course of events.[1]

When the order was given to advance, the English soldiers all fell on to their knees and put a piece of earth into their mouths,[2] then with a great shouting ran forward towards the enemy. King Henry led them on foot. The French army was ready for the attack: the "horns" of mounted knights and men-at-arms, posted on the right and left flanks of the first line, began to converge towards each other, hoping thus to envelop and crush the English. The manœuvre looked like succeeding; the advance of the English wavered for a moment, but the archers, having planted their stakes firmly into the ground,

[1] *Ibid.*, 51.

[2] Livius, op. cit., 19. For various explanations see Nicolas, op. cit., 120, and Lingard, *Hist. of Eng.*, III, 498. The mouthful of earth may have testified the unworthiness of the soldier to receive the sacrament.

stood calmly behind these, and discharged volley after volley of arrows into the French cavalry, which was soon driven back into its lines again. During this short preliminary to the general action, the stakes of the archers were very useful, checking completely the onslaught of such of the knights as penetrated the shower of arrows.[1] The archers also were able to do more at this time than to repel the French mounted men; they forced the artillery-men who were posted at the flanks beside the woods to withdraw, after having inflicted little damage on the English.

Some archers then took up a position just inside the wood on either side of the field of battle, and began pouring arrows into the first division of dismounted French knights and men-at-arms. The damage done by the archers here must have been heavy, for the French are said to have been so closely packed that they could hardly use their sword arms.[2]

To escape from this intolerable position and to grapple hand to hand with the enemy, the first division of the French then advanced, projecting itself in three sections against each of the three English divisions. They came on with their lances held forward with so much dash, that they forced the English to recoil about a lance's length. Then the clergy, who were watching the battle from Maisoncelles, believing now that the English forces were

[1] *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, 52.
[2] *Religieux de St. Denys*, V, 560.

being swept back by superior weight and numbers, lifted their hands to God almost in despair.

But the English only recoiled for a moment. After the two lines met, and mingled, and it became impossible to use the bow and arrow without endangering friend as well as foe, the English archers threw down their bows and seizing the hatchets or swords which hung at their girdles, or even the stakes which they had planted in the ground, they threw themselves into the thick of the fray. The ground sodden by a long night's rain, was soon mashed up by the trampling of the thousands of armed men upon it.[1] The French men-at-arms were all clad in armour. This handicapped them terribly on the muddy ground. It was not merely that the weight of their back- and breast-plates reduced their activity, but the leg-armour, including iron foot-wear, gave them no hold on the slippery ground. The archers, on the contrary, who composed the bulk of the English army, were lightly clad. They had loose-fitting jackets, so that their arms might be free to draw the long-bow, their hose also were loose and easy, and their feet either shod with leather, or bare altogether, so that they could grip the slippery earth, and move with comparative freedom even in the mud. Many were bare-headed; others had a cap of leather or of osier, with an iron cross on the top, as a protection against cuts. Hacking and hewing, these sturdy archers, aided by the more solid body of English

[1] *Chronicle of Normandy*, 219.

men-at-arms, did fearful execution among the French.

For a time there was no opportunity for taking prisoners. The hand-to-hand battle lasted three hours.[1] Many of the French fought bravely, but all the army was unable to show similar resolution under such unfavourable conditions.[2] There were some who were said to have surrendered as often as ten times,[3] for no one could attend to prisoners while the fight was still undecided. Many of the first division of the French were soon lying dead; but those behind kept pressing on, increasing the confusion. As fresh numbers kept struggling forward they were cut down likewise by the English. Slain lay upon slain, and sometimes even upon the living. Gradually where each division of the English were fighting, a regular heap of dead bodies formed itself. The ghastly piles continued growing till they were as high as a man and the English soldiers stood upon them and from above kept on slaying the enemy, hitting downwards with sword and with axe.[4]

Thus the first division of the French was broken and likewise the second which came up to support it. The dead and wounded covered the field; many of the men-at-arms turned and fled.[5] The French rearward, which was mounted, seems not to have come into the action at all. The Duke of Alençon,

[1] Livius, op. cit., 19.
[2] *Chronicle of Normandy*, 220.
[3] *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, 55.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Chronicle of Normandy*, 220.

who was fighting on foot in the first division, when he saw many men flying, mounted his horse (which as usual would be held by a squire not far off) and made a determined attempt to rally the fugitives, but without success. So he returned to the fray which still continued, " and performed such feats of arms, so gallantly that it was marvellous to behold."[1] He fought his way towards the prominent figure of king Henry, engaged with him, and with a blow of his sword struck off a piece of the king's crown. He was then surrounded and cut down before Henry could take him under his protection as a prisoner. When the battle was almost over, a courageous attempt was made to retrieve it by the Counts of Marle and Fauquembergh who managed to keep 600 French men-at-arms from joining the rout. They charged suddenly into the English forces, but the attempt was unsuccessful, and the brave leaders lost their lives.

King Henry, fighting on foot, distinguished himself at the head of his men. Eighteen French knights had sworn to strike his crown from his head, or to die. Henry indeed was a marked man, and received many blows on his head and armour,[2] and his crown was broken. But none of the devoted French knights escaped alive. The king's brother, Humphrey of Gloucester, was pierced by a dagger in his side, and stretched on the ground. The king immediately placed himself between his prostrate brother and the

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] Livius, op. cit., 20.

enemy, and warded off all assailants, until the duke was carried away to the rear.[1]

As the three-hour battle drew to a close, and the French began to break into flight, many prisoners were taken, for the sake of their ransom, by the English. The prisoners were more in number than their captors.[2] Suddenly shouts were raised that the French were reforming, or that a new army had come up, and that the English army, worn out by its labours, was to be attacked again. As in such circumstances the French prisoners would naturally join their friends, king Henry ordered that they should be killed, so as to leave their captors free to deal with the new forces. But as no soldier cared to spoil his chance of getting a ransom, the dreadful order was carried out in cold blood by a body of 200 soldiers specially detailed for the purpose. The noblest prisoners including the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon were, however, kept by the king; and a few others not reckoned among the nobles escaped the slaughter,[3] probably when the alarm was found to be a false one. The only assault made on the English, was by some knights who had raised a body of country-people, and attacked the baggage at Maisoncelles.

At last the battle was over. By the scene of the battle were found wagons full of provisions, as well as stores of arms. The English were thus in no

[1] *Ibid.* [2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, 56.

danger of hunger. The men stripped the dead of all jewels and valuables, before the army retired to Maisoncelles. The peasants of the district completed the work of spoliation by stripping the dead of their clothes.

The fight must have been finished between three and four o'clock in the afternoon. Henry returned thanks to God on the field of battle. He also publicly thanked the army for its services, and commanded that the battle should forever bear the name of Agincourt from the castle near by. He remained on the field of battle till dusk, in case the French should reform and attack him. When night was coming on, the rain began to fall again; but by this time all the army was back at Maisoncelles, with its booty and prisoners. The total number of French slain seems to have amounted to about 10,000 men; the highest estimate given by French chroniclers of the English dead, is 1600 (English chroniclers mention much smaller numbers). The Duke of York was among the slain, and so was the Earl of Suffolk, whose father had died only the month before in the siege of Harfleur.

Next day Henry and his army continued their way to Calais, passing through the scene of yesterday's battle, where wounded Frenchmen were still lying, and the naked dead were lying unburied. The march of the English army continued peacefully and without event. King Henry had numerous conversations with his noble prisoner Charles of Orleans, to whom

HENRY V
Eton College

CITY OF WESTMINSTER
PUBLIC LIBRARIES

all authorities agree that he behaved with the greatest courtesy. The army reached Calais on 29 October, and remained there more than a fortnight. It is said that the soldiers were very badly treated by the inhabitants, and were driven to sell their booty and prisoners cheaply at a disadvantage in order to buy bread. King Henry after his soldiers had been refreshed, had it in his mind to follow up his victory of Agincourt by besieging some of the French towns and castles near the Pale of Calais. But his council were of opinion that sufficient had been done for the present. So on 16 November the army was embarked in ships which had been prepared for the purpose. The Duke of Orleans was placed in the king's ship. The wind was favourable, but the Straits of Dover, as the chronicler Livius says, " are always full of great waves." The Frenchmen were sea-sick and found that day as bitter as when they were captured with so much slaughter at Agincourt. They were greatly struck by the composure of king Henry, who seemed in no way affected by the waves.[1]

The news of the great success of the army had already reached England. When the ships put into Dover on 16 November, a great concourse of people had collected from other places—monks, priests, nobles and commons. The ships of those days drew but little water, so that the enthusiasm of the people had no need to be restrained. They rushed into the

[1] Livius, op. cit., 22.

water up to the royal ship, and bore the king in their arms to the shore.[1] It was the most popular day of the Lancastrian dynasty.

That day and night were spent in Dover. Next day the king and his men continued their triumphant way. By easy stages they marched towards London, through Canterbury, from which the Archbishop, the abbot and the monks came out to meet them. The royal manor of Eltham was reached on Friday the 22nd. There the king slept the night, and next day proceeded to London. Meanwhile the citizens of the capital had prepared to welcome their king with all magnificence. At Blackheath he was met by the mayor and twenty-four aldermen in scarlet gowns, and twenty thousand of the citizens, in red garments with hoods of red and white. Many rode on horseback. They were arranged according to their companies and crafts with their distinguishing ornaments and symbols.[2] The citizens offered the king their loyal congratulations, to which Henry modestly replied with, "Graunt-merci Sires." Then the citizens went on to London, and the king followed with only a small company of his men, for most of the soldiers had either preceded the king to London, or had been dismissed to their homes.

He entered the city through crowds of people, and a series of the most sumptuous triumphal decorations. Gigantic symbolic figures were placed on a tower at the entrance to London Bridge. All

[1] *Ibid.* [2] *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, 61.

the way by Cornhill and Cheapside to Westminster were erected towers, castles and pavilions. On the gates and squares were all manner of precious cloths emblazoned with the great deeds of English kings. The conduits ran with wine instead of water. From the high towers the sweet voices of young choristers sang praises and songs. From the bridge of a great wooden castle near the cross at Cheapside, beautiful maidens sang to king Henry, "as to another David coming from the killing of Goliath"; the refrain of their song was, "Welcome Henry the Fifte, Kynge of Englonde and of Fraunce." Boys dropped gold and laurels on the head of the king, and sang praises to Gōd. The words "DEO GRATIAS" had the most prominent place on a tower by St. Paul's.

Every window and door was packed with enthusiastic onlookers, and the streets were so densely crowded that it was with difficulty that the horsemen could make their way through. But king Henry rode with a countenance almost unmoved. He was clad in a purple robe; his pace was dignified but his attendants few. Behind him came the French dukes and earls and the Marshal Boucicault, who were prisoners. By his quiet and sober expression of countenance the king showed the people that he gave all the glory not to himself but to God alone. He was unwilling even to show them his helmet and crown, all battered in the fight at Agincourt. After giving thanks on the way at St. Paul's and the

Abbey, the king went to stay in the palace of Westminster.[1]

Now gracious God, he save oure Kynge,
His people and all his well wyllynge,
Gef him good lyfe, and good endynge,
That we with mirth mowe savely synge,
Deo Gratias;
Deo gratias Anglia redde pro victoria.[2]

[1] For king Henry's return and for the pageant see *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, 61 ff., and Livius, op. cit., 22–3.

[2] From Percy's *Reliques*, II, v. The song, of which this is the last verse, is supposed to have been sung at the above pageant.

CHAPTER IX

SIGISMUND

Although the reign of Henry V is mainly a story of wars, he was assiduous in the peaceful administration of his kingdom of England, and spent comparatively long periods there. Between November, 1415, and August, 1417, he had a long respite from campaigning. It is to be noted, however, that during this period a great deal of his attention was absorbed in preparations for the renewal of the struggle in France. The months that Henry had spent in France in the campaign of Agincourt, had passed quietly in England, where the capable John, Duke of Bedford, was lieutenant of the kingdom. The duke held a parliament from 4 to 12 November, while Henry was still at Calais. The good news of Agincourt was known in London, and the popularity of the king was assured. Parliament voted him tunnage and poundage for life, along with other considerable items,—a very suitable present for a king who had mortgaged nearly all his property to raise money for the war.

It was on 23 November, that the king made his procession into London. On 1 December he was

present at the funerals of the Duke of York and the Earl of Suffolk, slain at Agincourt.[1] He spent Christmas at Lambeth, and there heard of a successful raid which the Earl of Dorset had made into Normandy from Harfleur. The business of the kingdom seems to have kept Henry in or near London throughout the spring of 1416. Measures had to be taken to keep the garrison in Harfleur up to full strength, and to pay their wages. A troublesome matter had to be settled with two Northumbrian gentlemen who had fitted out a couple of " balingers," and had captured two Flemish merchantmen. The incident might have endangered the truce which existed between the king and the Duke of Burgundy, who was the feudal overlord of Flanders. But Henry was firm, and the Flemish ships were restored to their owners.[2] On 16 March, a new parliament met and was opened by Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester. Henry Percy who had been an exile for engaging in rebellion in the reign of Henry IV, was allowed to do homage to the king and so to recover his earldom of Northumberland. It was resolved that during the schism which still existed in the papacy, every bishop-elect in England should be confirmed by the archbishop on a writ from the king, without any intervention from a pope.[3] This schism divided with the French war the attention of Europe. Henry V as a devout

[1] Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, II, 314.
[2] *Proc. of Privy Council*, II, 186–7.
[3] *Rolls of Parl.*, IV, 71.

Catholic was anxious for the unity of the Church. He was now to come into close personal relations with the Emperor Sigismund, through whose efforts the schism was next year to be ended.

Sigismund was a scion of the great house of Luxembourg which, for a hundred years, had been intimately connected with the Imperial dignity. The first emperor of this line was Henry VII, whose noble character and great ideas so attracted Dante that the Italian poet welcomed the German emperor as the unifier and saviour of Italy. There was a great fund of chivalry in the Luxembourg house. John, son of Henry VII, was not elected to the empire, but as king of Bohemia he gained much renown, and eventually died gloriously fighting, though old and blind, for the French at Crécy. The son of this king John became Emperor as Charles IV. He was also endowed with the high ability of his house, not as a knight, however, but as a student and as a statesman. He was the founder of the University of Prague, and the author of the famous Golden Bull (1356), which formulated and regularised the privileges of the Imperial electors. The two sons of Charles IV were Wenzel and Sigismund. Wenzel as king of Bohemia and king of the Romans had a turbulent career; he had all the energy of his house, but not their good feeling, for his character showed considerable signs of degeneracy. He was cruel and he was a drunkard. With Sigismund, however, who, in 1410, became king of the Romans (as the elected emperor was called

before he was crowned by the pope), the glories of the house of Luxembourg were revived. In some respects he was almost a great man, and is to be compared with Henry V of England, with whom he had much in common; he had the lofty ambitions, the wide ideas, but without Henry's practical genius, and without his self-restraint.

Sigismund's life had been a stormy one.[1] He had to fight for his throne in Hungary with the fierce Magyar magnates. He had been defeated by the Turks at Nicopolis, and had to fly for his life down the Danube, being saved only by the Venetian war-galleys. He had been imprisoned by his unruly subjects. He had endured the hardships of war in the fastnesses of Bosnia, in Serbia, Dalmatia, the Tyrol, in Poland, in Bohemia. He had been poisoned by his enemies when campaigning in Moravia, and was only cured by being hung for twenty-four hours by the heels.[2] It is said that not a year of his life, from the age of fifteen to that of forty, was passed without his going to war.[3] Yet with all this, he was a scholar and a statesman. He could speak several languages fluently, he was fond of reading, he was interested in the Universities of Germany. As a statesman in Hungary he encouraged the growth of the free cities, those asylums from the storms of medieval

[1] For some idea of the extraordinary activity of this remarkable man, see the Register and Itinerary in Aschbach, *Geschichte Kaiser Sigismunds*, III, 430 ff.

[2] Aschbach, op. cit., I, 203.

[3] E. J. Kitts, *Pope John the Twenty-Third*, 75.

life, he ameliorated the conditions of villeinage, he regularised weights and measures.[1] But his great design was to revive the power of the Holy Roman Empire; and as a seal and manifestation of this universal power, he aimed at ending the great schism in the Church.

If Sigismund should be able to end the schism, he would not merely establish the reputation of the empire, but would for ever upset the claim which the popes were now advancing that they were the superior of the emperor, and that only through papal confirmation did the chosen king of the electors become anything more than emperor-elect. For although the popes' actual power had much weakened in the preceding century, their pretensions were as great as ever, and very troublesome to the weakening empire.

The origins of the great schism go back to the struggle between Philip IV of France and Pope Boniface VIII at the end of the thirteenth century—a struggle which following on the victory gained by the papacy in its war with the empire, brought terrible misfortunes to the ecclesiastical power. When Boniface VIII, after being grievously handled by his enemies, died at Anagni in October, 1303, his place was taken by the Cardinal of Ostia, Benedict XI. But Benedict died the next year, and for eleven months no decision was reached. Then, under the influence of France, a Frenchman was

[1] *Ibid.*, 83–4.

elected, Clement V, Archbishop of Bordeaux. Possibly as the result of some understanding with the French monarchy, Clement, in 1309, removed the papal residence from Rome to the palace at Avignon, a town on the left bank of the Rhone, which belonged to the Count of Provence. Here the papacy continued to be for the next seventy years. After the death of Clement V in 1314, there followed in succession six popes of French blood. Of these the last, Gregory XI, sprung from a noble house in Anjou, was induced by the protests of St. Catherine of Siena to restore the papal court in 1377 from the pleasant town and country of Avignon (which the papacy had purchased from the Count of Provence in 1348), to the now poor and ruinous city of Rome. The "Babylonish Captivity" of the popes was ended, but immediately the great schism began. For Gregory XI died in 1378. The cardinals thereupon elected an Italian, Bartholomew Prignano, Archbishop of Bari, to be pope, as Urban VI. But before six months were gone fifteen out of the same cardinals who had elected Urban VI, elected and crowned an anti-pope, the French Bishop of Cambray, who took the name of Clement VII. This last election was, of course, made in the interest of France. The Italian Urban remained at Rome; the French Clement went back to Avignon.

Thus two lines of popes were established, an Italian line at Rome, and a French one at Avignon. The empire as a whole and England acknowledged

the Roman line as legitimate popes, while France, Spain and Scotland gave their allegiance to the Avignon line. The scandal resulting from double popes was a most grave one for the medieval Church. It involved endless political negotiations; it made the respective popes terribly dependent on the monarchs. Neither pope was any longer lord of the world, but lord only in one or two countries, which by transferring their allegiance could undo him in a moment. Financial stringency made itself felt in the Universal Church. Two full-grown papal systems had to be maintained out of a divided and distracted Europe. The papal collectors became more and more a permanent feature of society; and the name of pope became more and more associated with questionable means of extracting money from the faithful. The damage done by the schism to religion was incalculable, and all the best minds in Christendom were thinking how to heal it.

When Sigismund became emperor in 1410, there were no less than three popes, claiming simultaneously to be the successors of Peter and the vicars of Christ. The first was Benedict XIII, the second in the series of the Avignon or French anti-popes. (He was really a Spaniard by birth.) On the other hand, there was Gregory XII, who had been elected by the Roman cardinals in 1406, but deposed again in the Council of Pisa in 1409. However, as he refused to acknowledge his deposition, and would not abdicate, he had still a claim to be called pope. The last of

the trio of popes was John XXIII, a Neapolitan, who as Baldassare Cossa, had led an active life as a soldier, a sailor, and an administrator, but who was comparatively new to the rôle of a Churchman, for which his training in the condottiere camps of northern Italy had scarcely fitted him.

Pope John was naturally anxious to have the schism ended, and that he should be recognised by Christendom as the sole vicar of Christ. It was clear that nothing could settle the difficulty but a general council of the whole Church, attended by prelates from all countries. Such a council could decide who was the true pope, and could perhaps compel the abdication of the other two. But it was necessary to have the secular arm also, and for this purpose pope John naturally looked to the emperor. Sigismund was not slow to respond; it was his ambition to be the leader of Christendom, to restore the old glories of the Holy Roman Empire, to show that the emperor was in no way the inferior of the papacy. Nothing could better restore the permanent position of the empire than that Sigismund should preside at the General Council which was to settle the destinies of the papacy.

This Council met on 16 November, 1414, at the Swabian town of Constance, a free imperial city conveniently situated for travellers from Italy and Germany and not inaccessible from France. By Christmas Day the Council was in proper working order. Sigismund arrived at two in the morning of

Christmas, and read the Gospel for the day at Mass. While Henry V was negotiating with the French government preparatory to invading France, the Council was steadily going through its work. Among other matters heresy was dealt with, and John Huss of Bohemia was burned in the cathedral square on 6 July, 1415. Previously to this (16 February) pope John XXIII had promised to resign provided that popes Gregory and Benedict would do the same. Benedict XIII had given it to be understood, though not definitely, that he too might be induced to resign his pretensions. On 15 June, Gregory XII, through his representative prince Carlo Malatesta, definitely proclaimed his resignation. It now only remained for the Council to secure the resignation of Benedict XIII, and then to proceed to the election of a single pope for the whole Church. On 18 July, Sigismund left Constance with a deputation to travel through France to meet pope Benedict. The two met at Perpignan on 18 September. At that time Henry V was still besieging Harfleur.

Sigismund's travels had a double object. If the great schism was to be ended, it was necessary that Benedict should resign; but there might still be trouble if France and England remained at war. For England supported the Roman papacy, so that the Gallican Church under pressure from the French government, might refuse to come under any pope who was supported by the English. For this and other reasons Sigismund was anxious to mediate

between the two countries. He had already corresponded with Henry V, and he had maintained the best relations with the English delegates at Constance.[1]

However, when Sigismund met Benedict at Perpignan, the pope could not be induced to resign his pretensions, but he was relegated to Peniscola, a rock-fortress of Valencia, and a private possession of his own. There he resided till his death in 1424. As Gregory XII had resigned, and John XXIII who retracted his resignation, had been deposed at the Council of Constance, it now only remained for a new pope of all the Church to be elected under the protection of Sigismund. But first the emperor desired to complete his mission of peace by visiting the courts of France and Spain. After spending Christmas at Avignon, he went to Paris on 1 March, 1416.

Paris was still in possession of the Armagnacs and the national French government. John the Fearless of Burgundy had stood aloof both from French and English during the invasion of Henry V. Since Agincourt he had kept forces in the north-east of France, and ravaged the royal domain almost up to Paris. The French government suffered a great misfortune. The king, Charles, was still mentally incapable, and the Dauphin Louis died on 18 December, 1415. But a certain amount of activity was maintained by Bernard, Count of Armagnac, father-in-

[1] The English delegates at Constance were the Earl of Warwick, the Bishops of Salisbury and Bath, and some minor ecclesiastics.

law of the Duke of Orleans. Bernard was appointed Constable of France at the end of December, 1415. He was a great and wealthy noble of French Gascony, and with the forces he was able to collect from there he kept off the forays of the Duke of Burgundy, and held the Isle of France and Normandy for king Charles. He even made an attempt to retake Harfleur, but was foiled by the activity of the Captain of the town, the Earl of Dorset.

The French government expected much from Sigismund's visit to Paris. But nothing of importance happened. The emperor was impecunious and his grand manner struck the French as ridiculous when compared with the parsimony he showed both in his entertainments and in his charities. He particularly gave offence by knighting one of the disputants in a trial which he attended before the Parlement of Paris. This assumption of imperial authority in the capital of a sovereign state was in very bad taste, but it meant a good deal in Sigismund's eyes, it meant that he was the Holy Roman Emperor, and the supreme head of Europe.[1]

Sigismund's mission of peace was far from being accomplished. The French government disliked his pretensions, and now expected little from his intervention. The Constable, Bernard of Armagnac, looked upon him with open hostility. Accordingly it must have been with little friendliness to the French that Sigismund left Paris (or rather St. Denis

[1] Aschbach, op. cit., II, 157.

where he was residing) some time about 20 April. He proceeded by way of Beauvais, Amiens and Abbeville, to Calais where he arrived on 27 April. There he was received honourably by the Captain, Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, who had been one of the English delegates at Constance. Sigismund had hoped to meet king Henry at Calais. Failing in this, however, he accepted Henry's invitation to London, and on 30 April, embarked with his retinue in three hundred [1] English ships which Henry had sent for the purpose.

It is impossible to ascertain in what light Henry V regarded Sigismund's visit. The emperor came with the express purpose of making peace between England and France. He was anxious for this as a step towards completing the unity of the Church, and then towards bringing the European powers together in a crusade against the Turks, who were now a continual menace in the south-east of Europe. For both these objects Henry V undoubtedly cared a great deal. He was a loyal Churchman and desired to see the end of the schism; and from boyhood he seems to have aspired to go on crusade, like his hero Godfrey of Bouillon,[2] to drive back the Turks from Europe, and to win back the Holy Land. But with all his dreams Henry V was intensely practical. His business as a king lay in England, and he would

[1] Livius, *Vita Henrici Quinti*, 23.

[2] Nicolas, *Proc. of Privy Council*, III, xxv., concerning a loan to Henry V of the *Chronicles of Jerusalem* and the *Voyage of Godfrey of Boulogne*.

allow no external ambition to come between him and what he considered the interests of England and the English crown. Accordingly he regarded Sigismund simply as a great neighbouring sovereign. He extended the hand of friendship to the emperor, and made a treaty of alliance. Thus he secured a great diplomatic triumph. Sigismund was head of the oldest monarchy in Europe; he was the most Catholic of princes. In the great scheme of conquest which Henry had planned, it was of the highest importance to have the goodwill and, so to speak, the benediction of the Holy Roman Empire. Public opinion and the spirit of legality had more weight in the Middle Ages than is usually believed. The alliance with the empire gave a kind of legitimacy to Henry's enterprises in France, that was of great practical value. The advantage did not lie in any specific act or guarantee, but rather in a sort of ideal support. Yet it must not be forgotten that Sigismund helped to carry through the Treaty of Troyes in 1420, and himself signed that compact, which was so favourable to Henry's aspirations.

The king made great preparations for the honourable reception of Sigismund, calling up the knights of Kent to London, so that a proper display of the power and majesty of the English king might be made.[1] Henry was going to treat the emperor as one great monarch might treat another. He was going to permit no show of superiority on Sigismund's

[1] Rymer, *Foedera*, IX, 339.

part, such as the latter had displayed in Paris. When the ship carrying the emperor put in to Dover on 30 April, Henry's brother the Duke of Gloucester was awaiting him, with a numerous retinue. Before Sigismund could disembark, Humphrey, with his attendant noblemen, at once rode into the water right up to the side of the ship (which drew very little water), and demanded whether he claimed in England any right of suzerainty or jurisdiction. On Sigismund's replying in the negative, he was permitted to land and was shown every honour.[1] The emperor brought with him a magnificent retinue—between 1000 and 1500 knights—and also the Archbishop of Rheims, as ambassador from France. He proceeded to London by Canterbury, Rochester and Dartford, being entertained at each place by the Archbishop, the Duke of Bedford and the Duke of Clarence respectively. At Blackheath he was met by the mayor and citizens; and lastly a mile from the city, he was met by king Henry himself, with 5000 nobles and knights, and conducted to the palace of Westminster. Sigismund was to be lodged there during his visit, while the king himself removed to the Archbishop's manor at Lambeth.[2] Throughout the whole of their visit the emperor and his retinue lived at the expense of king Henry.[3]

On the next day, 4 May, parliament met, and the

[1] Kingsford, *First English Life*, pp. 67–8. Aschbach, op. cit., II, 162; Holinshed, *Chronicles*, 555.

[2] *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, 76–7.

[3] Waurin, *Recueil des croniques*, 228.

alliance between the two monarchs was solemnly concluded. Sigismund at once began the business of mediating between France and England. King Henry showed signs of making some concession. He protested his right to the crown of France, but at the same time offered to renounce it provided that England should obtain in return all the territory in France that had been ceded at the Peace of Bretigny in 1360, and in addition Harfleur. This was, indeed, a considerable abatement of Henry's former demands, as the treaty of Bretigny only included Aquitaine (principally Poitou and Guienne), with the Pale of Calais and Ponthieu. Of these England already held Guienne and the Pale, so that the French were only asked to cede Harfleur, Ponthieu, Poitou, and the considerable outlying districts of Guienne which were now in their hands. Nevertheless the demands were great, and not warranted by the condition of the French government, which in spite of the defeat of Agincourt, had under the vigorous leadership of Count Bernard of Armagnac, still plenty of resources. So Henry's offer was rejected.[1]

Meanwhile the king and the emperor grew more cordial. They went down to Windsor, and an investiture of the Order of the Garter was held. Five new knights were created to fill the vacancies caused by deaths at Agincourt. Among those promoted to the most noble Order of the Garter was Sigismund. As an acknowledgment of the honour

[1] Livius, op. cit., 24; cp. Monstrelet, *La Chronique*, 231.

done him he is said to have presented the heart of St. George to the king.[1] On 28 May, another dignitary of the empire arrived: William, Count of Holland and Duke of Bavaria, who joined with Sigismund to mediate between Henry and the French. By their influence a truce for three years was arranged with France, and Harfleur which was the great bone of contention now between the two countries was, pending a final settlement at the end of the truce, to be put into the neutral hands of the emperor and William of Holland. This truce, as a matter of fact, lasted scarcely one month. Henry maintained that the French government did not provide the guarantees which had been agreed upon.[2] It is unlikely that either side was very anxious for peace. The French Constable thought that he was going to take Harfleur, which was suffering from lack of victuals and artillery. With the English on the other hand, or at any rate the Londoners, the truce was unpopular, as they had made financial sacrifices for the war, with very little tangible result.[3]

Obviously a crisis was approaching; England would soon be at war with France again. Harfleur was intermittently invested. The Earl of Dorset throughout the year had been showing considerable activity. In March he had made a raid into Normandy, and although forced to retreat, and, as it

[1] Note to *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, 78
[2] Rymer, *Foedera*, IX, 362–3.
[3] *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, to 79–80, note 2.

seemed, cut off from Harfleur, had defeated his pursuers in a fight known as the Battle of Cany.[1] But while Sigismund was in England, the Constable of Armagnac in May attacked Harfleur with a considerable force. A fleet was also got together by hiring ships from the Genoese and Venetians. Thus Harfleur was shut in by land and by sea. The French fleet even crossed the Channel and attempted to burn Southampton, but were beaten off. They managed, however, to burn all the houses on the Isle of Portland, but without finding any of the inhabitants there.[2] Henry would have sent an army over to France and begun the great war again then and there, but the French at this moment reopened negotiations. So the truce already mentioned was made, but broken off again towards the end of June.

In June and July, Sigismund was lodged in Leeds Castle in Kent. Henry spent a good deal of time at Southampton and Portsmouth, preparing for the war that was soon to come. English envoys were still negotiating with the government in France, yet all the time the French kept up their naval power in front of Harfleur. The English ambassadors complained that they were badly treated, being practically confined to their lodging, which, moreover, they had to provide for at their own expense.[3] The negotiations were kept up by the French in order to consume time; meanwhile Harfleur was in ever greater danger. But early in August ships were ready, and

[1] *Ibid.*, 71–2. [2] *Ibid.*, 79–80. [3] *Ibid.*, 84.

Henry himself intended to lead the expedition. He was, however, dissuaded from this by Sigismund, and he appointed his brother, the Duke of Bedford, instead. Then the king returned to London. Bedford's expedition was brilliantly successful. It was not till 14 August that he obtained a favourable wind for crossing the Channel. Then he set sail. News of the sailing of the fleet was brought to Henry at Westminster the same night. The king at once betook himself to prayer for the success of his men.[1] Next day he sent to a friend of his, a recluse at Westminster, to the Carthusians, and to his own foundation at Sheen, that prayers should be made for the safety of the expedition. On that very day Bedford's ships were engaging with the French and Genoese ships. The " carracks " of the enemy towered above the English ships, but Bedford's men boarded them and captured four out of the eight Genoese ships and a number not stated of the French.[2] After the victory, Bedford who had distinguished himself throughout from the time when he took his own ship ahead of all the rest into action, relieved Harfleur with a plentiful supply of victuals.

On the very day of the naval victory Henry and Sigismund concluded a second treaty of alliance with each other at Canterbury.[3] This treaty consisted of two parts : in the first Sigismund stated his

[1] *Ibid.*, 86.
[2] Livius, op. cit., 26 ; *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, 87–8.
[3] Rymer, *Foedera*, IX, 377 ff.

obligations and compacts towards Henry; in the second Henry stated his towards Sigismund. Together they formed a complete bond of alliance. The emperor (or as he correctly calls himself the king of the Romans) stated in the opening words of the treaty that, urged by a desire for the unity and tranquillity of the whole Church, he had tried to mediate between Charles, king of the Franks, and Henry, king of England and France, and Lord of Ireland. But the aforesaid Charles had ultimately shown that he did not want peace. King Henry had meanwhile amply proved to the emperor the wrongs he had suffered at the hands of Charles. So Sigismund had resolved to conclude a treaty of perpetual amity for himself and his successors, the Roman kings and emperors on one side, and Henry and his successors whoever they might be on the other. The alliance bound the two men against all parties whatsoever, at any time, except against the Holy Roman Church and the Roman pontiff. The two monarchs promised to prevent their respective subjects and vassals from harming each other; and to grant unimpeded trade between the men of England and the empire, so long as the imposts were paid and the laws of the two realms obeyed. The two monarchs finally bound themselves to assist each other in any wars they should have with the French for recovery of their respective rights.

After the conclusion of this treaty, the two monarchs intended to proceed to Calais, where a

colloquy was to be held with the Duke of Burgundy, and a final meeting was to take place with French ambassadors. On 21 August, Henry, who was at the little port of Small-Hythe on the Rother, heard of the great naval victory which the Duke of Bedford had won off Harfleur on the 15th. The king immediately rode to Canterbury and told the news to Sigismund. Together, like two brothers, they went to the cathedral, and took part in singing the "Te Deum."[1]

At the end of the month the emperor crossed from Dover to Calais. Henry followed him with forty ships, on 4 September, from Sandwich. He was met by Sigismund when he landed on the shore. They embraced with great joy and went through the town, conversing together. Henry went to the castle where he was to stay; Sigismund was lodged in one of the great houses or "hotels" which were the property of the king.

Henry remained at Calais for just over a month. During this time he held conversations with John, Duke of Burgundy, and with ambassadors from the king of France, as well as with Sigismund. The negotiations are important as they show two things: first, that a lasting peace with France was as far off as ever; and second, that the Duke of Burgundy, although not yet ready for a military alliance with England, was never favourable to a policy of supporting Henry's "adversary of France."

[1] *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, 89–90.

Sigismund still used his influence in favour of peace. He remained during the month of September at Calais. A deputation from the king of France, headed by the Archbishop of Rheims, arrived at the end of September. But the negotiations for peace again came to little or nothing. The French government, under the vigorous influence of the Constable Bernard of Armagnac, thought that they could regain by war all that they had lost, instead of having to submit to the loss which would be involved by any compromise. So the outcome of the negotiations was a further extension of the period of truce till 2 February, 1417.[1] This agreement was concluded on 3 October.

It was about the same time, 2 or 3 October, that John, Duke of Burgundy, arrived in Calais. His retinue may have numbered as many as eight hundred men. King Henry's brother, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, was sent to St. Omer, on the frontier of the English Pale, in the Burgundian dominions, as a hostage for the safe return of Duke John. At St. Omer Humphrey showed some of that tactlessness and recklessness which in later days were to have such disastrous effects on England's relations with Burgundy. On arriving at St. Omer Humphrey was honourably received by the heir of Burgundy, Philip, Count of Charolais, and by a fine assemblage of lords. Next day Philip called at the mansion where Humphrey was lodged; "but when

[1] Rymer, *Foedera*, IX, 399.

he came into the room of the said Duke of Gloucester, the latter, having his shoulder turned towards him, and speaking to his own people, made no effort to do reverence as was fit to the said count. And at last what reverence he did do was of the briefest, saying, 'Welcome, good cousin,' without going to meet him. Thus he continued speaking for a long time to his English attendants so that the Count of Charolais (notwithstanding his youth) was very ill-pleased."[1]

At Calais, king Henry and Duke John of Burgundy carried on formal negotiations. The king wished the duke to conclude a definite alliance with England against Charles of France. But Duke John, although he was at the time in hostile occupation of some of king Charles' territory, would not yet enter into formal alliance with the enemies of France. However, he agreed to a truce with England (that is to say, to neutrality), to endure till Michaelmas, 1419.[2] As the truce between England and France would expire early in the year 1417, it was clear that France would receive no help from Burgundy when the war between Henry and Charles was renewed. The independent position of John of Burgundy with regard to his suzerain, the king of France, was further demonstrated by the homage which he performed to

[1] Monstrelet, op. cit., clxi; Waurin, op. cit. (230), says the count entertained Humphrey most courteously, and was cordially thanked by the Duke.

[2] This was an extension of a truce concluded in the previous June (1416) by the Earl of Warwick, Captain of Calais. Holinshed, *Chronicles*, 558.

the emperor Sigismund, for the counties of Burgundy and Alost, which, unlike Flanders and ducal Burgundy, were, strictly speaking, fiefs of the empire, and not of the French crown.[1]

The business which had brought Henry to Calais with Sigismund was now practically completed. Between 14 and 18 October, probably on the 16th, the king returned to England. John of Burgundy had already[2] gone back to Flanders, and the Duke of Gloucester, released from his position as hostage, escorted Sigismund to Dordrecht. From there Sigismund returned to the Council of Constance, having accomplished a long journey, in which if he had not been the great peacemaker of Europe, he had at least gained the firm support of the mighty and orthodox king of England. Agincourt had raised the name of England to the highest point it attained in the Middle Ages. The reputation of Sigismund had risen with the English alliance. He was now able to work steadily at the Council of Constance towards the achievement of his great object, the unity of the Church. At last his efforts were crowned with success: on 11 November, 1417, Cardinal Otho Colonna was elected pope at Constance, and assumed the name of Martin V. From that time the papacy has been without schism, and, notwithstanding the breach caused by the Renaissance and Reformation, has gone on increasing in centralised

[1] Monstrelet, op. cit., clxi.

[2] He had stayed eight days in Calais. Waurin, op. cit., 231.

strength and efficiency. In the momentous election of Martin V, king Henry worked hand in hand with Sigismund. England was represented by a strong deputation. It was Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, who by his eloquence and judgment finally stirred the Council definitely to hold an election of a new pope; and it was the Bishop of London who, when various names were proposed in the conclave, brought the Fathers on St. Martin's day to a final agreement over the name of the Cardinal of Colonna,[1] "the creator of the modern papacy."[2]

[1] Walsingham, op. cit., II, 319–20. Cp. Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, III, 96, note: "Whoever was the nominator, the election was the result of the league between Henry and Sigismund." Cp. Lenz: *König Sigismund und Heinrich V*, p. 183 ff.

[2] Stubbs, op. cit., 96.

CHAPTER X

THE CONQUEST OF NORMANDY

The life of a medieval king can only be written as a series of episodes. Only very occasionally, as in Joinville's *Life of Louis IX*, is a picture of the ordinary daily life of the sovereign given. The materials for the life of Henry V are of a different kind. To the age in which he lived he was the splendid soldier, a great warrior, a profound statesman. His outstanding exploits captured the imagination of his contemporaries, so that the memory left of him is that of a series of great episodes. It is hard to put together any picture of his private life between these episodes. Indeed, few medieval kings, and least of all Henry V, had time for a private life. Their day was spent between the saddle and the council-table. The business of the nation, cases of justice, the inspection of accounts, the receiving of petitions, occupied most of the king's time. Brief holidays, frequently combined with the hearing of local petitions and law-cases, were spent at some royal hunting-seat. Attendance at the daily offices of religion occupied some of the short time left from business. For private reading, of which

Henry V was fond,[1] there can have been little leisure.

As the French government not unnaturally refused to give up any territory, king Henry set out to win the whole kingdom. But the invasion of France did not take place for another nine months. During this period Henry was at home, making careful preparations for the expedition. In the parliament which reassembled (19 October) immediately after his return from Calais, the decision for the renewal of the war with France was announced. The usual public business was transacted: the commons voted two "aids" to the king,[2] and the clergy in convocation voted a similar contribution. The alliance of the English crown with the emperor Sigismund was confirmed. Two deserved promotions in the peerage were announced. The hard-worked Captain of Harfleur, Thomas Beaufort, Earl of Dorset, was raised by Henry to be Duke of Exeter for life only, with annually 1000 marks from the royal treasury, and £40 from the king's dues at Exeter. Henry's generosity was popular, as was shown by the answer of the peers when asked if they approved of the grant: they answered that they did, only the gift was too small for the duke's merits.[3] The second promotion also shows the generous character of king

[1] Cp. Rymer, *Foedera*, IX, 742, the answer of a noble of Guyenne to the king's request for a loan of *Guiron le Courteois*. From the plunder of Caen, Henry retained only a book of history *First English Life* (ed. Kingsford), 92.

[2] *Rolls of Parl.*, IV, 95.

[3] Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, II, 317.

Henry. The young John Holland, who, like Thomas Beaufort, was related to the king through John of Gaunt, was the son of a former John, executed and attainted for conspiring against Henry IV in 1400. But Henry V treated the son well, just as he treated the young Richard of York, son of that Earl of Cambridge who had conspired against the king on the eve of the expedition to Agincourt. The young John, now twenty-one years old, had been taken into the royal service, had fought well at Agincourt, and so was now restored to the honours and estates of the earldom of Huntingdon, one of the titles of his attainted father.[1] He was to rise still higher in the king's service, and ultimately to finish an honourable career of military and administrative work, as Duke of Exeter. He died in 1447. The great quasi-royal houses of Holland and Beaufort were, in the time of the unfortunate son of Henry V, the chief support of the Lancastrian dynasty. So the generosity of the king was well repaid. His generosity towards the house of York did not meet with a similar return.

Christmas, 1416, was spent by Henry at Kenilworth, the only thing which marred the peace of the country being the fear of Lollard plots. But the government was alert and vigorous, and all manifestations were quickly suppressed. Oldcastle was still at large, in hiding, but his fate was not far off. Henry spent the next six months in active preparations for his new expedition to France. The same

[1] *Rolls of Parl.*, IV, 100.

thoroughness is here to be noted as in the months preceding the expedition to Harfleur and Agincourt. It was a busy time, for the king personally attended to everything. The arrangements for this expedition were much the same as for the former. The military non-combatant branches of the army were all carefully attended to: contracts were made for the raising of soldiers; carpenters, masons, engineers, all were provided; physicians, surgeons and chaplains were engaged. In one respect a great advance was made: the second expedition of Henry V to France is one of the chief epochs in the development of the English royal navy.

Apart from the ships which were supplied by the Cinque Ports, and the merchant craft which were pressed into the king's service for this expedition, Henry caused ships to be built under his own personal supervision,[1] for the increase of the permanent royal navy. By August, 1417, the king possessed no less than twenty-six ships. The ships of the royal navy were increased both in number and also in size.[2] He probably also issued a code of regulations before the expedition started, but the great extant code of his which survives was issued two years later at Mantes.[3]

King Henry was at Southampton during July, mobilising the fleet. The French government was not inactive; a mixed fleet of hired French

[1] Nicolas, *History of the Royal Navy*, II, 402, and note *a*.
[2] *Ibid.*, Appendix, 515.
[3] *Black Book of the Admiralty* (Rolls Series), I, 459.

and Genoese ships lay off Harfleur to intercept the English expedition. But king Henry sent the Earl of Huntingdon to sea with a squadron to deal with the enemy. The earl engaged the enemy in a hand-to-hand fight on 25 July, and completely defeated them, taking four great carracks as prizes.[1]

By 23 July, the expedition was ready to start. It consisted of 16,400 fighting men—nobles, knights, and men-at-arms, archers and artillery-men. In addition there were 1000 masons and carpenters.[2] But as each man-at-arms was understood, according to the indentures made with the king, to be accompanied by a valet, and as nobles would be accompanied by servants, the total force, all of whom could fight if necessary, would amount to about 40,000 men.[3] The fleet which transported the army consisted of 1500 ships, of which 117 were hired from Holland, the rest being English.[4] The king took with him two of his brothers, Thomas, Duke of Clarence, one of the most dashing soldiers of the age, and Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester. The other brother, the prudent John, Duke of Bedford, was left as warden of England during the king's absence. The Scots were not likely to be dangerous, as their king, James I, was still in honourable confinement.

[1] "Elmham," op. cit., 93–5; Nicolas, *Royal Navy*, II, 432–3.

[2] "Elmham," op. cit., 92.

[3] M. Puiseux in his *Prise de Caen* adds to this number 22,000 archers. But the fleet of 1500 ships could not have carried more than 40,000 men. Cp. the Expedition to Agincourt—1500 ships to 30,000 men.

[4] "Elmham," op. cit., 92; Nicolas, *Royal Navy*, II, 434.

The fleet sailed on 29 July, and arrived on 1 August in the mouth of the Seine at Touques, four miles from Harfleur, and one mile south of the modern watering-place of Trouville. There was no fleet after the Earl of Huntingdon's victory to obstruct the king's passage, nor was there any army to oppose him when he landed, for Henry had skilfully concealed his destination even from his immediate friends.[1]

This his second expedition to France is the greatest proof of the genius of Henry V. The first expedition, that of Agincourt, was the most dazzling, the most glorious. But except for the precarious acquisition of Harfleur, it had been without result. The astonishing victory of Agincourt had been followed by the return of the king's forces to England, no nearer to the possession of Normandy nor of the French crown. Henry had shown himself a brilliant fighter, a great leader of men. But it was in the expedition of 1417 that he displayed that profound strategy which distinguished him above all other medieval generals.

In the Middle Ages commanders seldom looked further than to the particular battle or siege that loomed ahead of them. Their main idea was the very natural one of finding out the enemy, wherever he should be, and crushing him in a hand-to-hand conflict. But when he had crushed the enemy, the medieval general seldom knew what to do in order to utilise his victory. This is why the wars of the

[1] "Elmham," op. cit., 97.

Middle Ages were so long and so ineffectual, and why the most tremendous disasters like Crécy, Poitiers and Agincourt did not lay France at the feet of her enemy. In the same way, the crusades were conducted as a series of somewhat haphazard battles and sieges with the simple object in view of reaching or keeping Jerusalem. William the Conqueror was one of the few medieval generals whose view extended beyond the winning of a great pitched battle, or the reduction of a great city. The battle of Hastings was only the first step in an elaborate campaign. Henry V is another rare example of a really constructive general. In 1417 he set out to win the Duchy of Normandy, and his plan, although when put into action it was devoid of all brilliant and startling events, was the only sure way to gain his end.

A smaller man would have allowed the forces of France to concentrate and then would have tried to annihilate them in a pitched battle, which, if successful would not have put him much nearer to the possession of Normandy, for an interminable local resistance would have been encountered. Or he would have made for Rouen, the capital of the duchy, and investing it would have laid his communications open to attack from some uncaptured town between his army and the coast; and if he captured Rouen he would still have had to reduce all the other towns, the local capitals of the districts of Normandy, with all their local strength and patriotism.

But in the expedition of 1417 king Henry's plan

was deep, original and comprehensive. Starting from Touques he meant to make a circular march taking in the lesser towns and fortresses of Normandy, and ultimately to come before Rouen, but to the south of it, so as to be between it and Paris. By this circular march he would isolate Normandy, and incidentally force Brittany and Anjou into neutrality, besides paralysing all efforts at combined resistance on the part of the local nobility of the Cotentin and other districts of Normandy.[1]

At the same time Henry's understanding with the Duke of Burgundy prevented the government of France from taking vigorous action, as the Burgundian party was very powerful in Paris; and the alliance with Sigismund, the emperor, tended to draw Genoa away from the French side, and to diminish the number of mercenaries and ships from that quarter.

On 1 August, Henry disembarked at Touques. The castle there was held by five hundred knights, who made a gallant attempt to oppose the English army, without success. On 3 August, the garrison agreed to capitulate, if not relieved before the 9th. This was a very common stipulation and was not made so much in the likelihood of being relieved as to save the honour of the garrison. King Henry allowed them their lives and goods in the terms of capitulation.[2]

[1] Cp. Puiseux, *Prise de Caen*, 32–3.
[2] Rymer, *Foedera*, IX, 479–80.

Henry next made a sweeping movement by Grentheville, St. André-de-Fontenay and Eterville, appearing before Caen on 18 August. On this march, by occupying these small places, he isolated Caen from the country around. Then he opened a formal siege, the successful conclusion of which was the first great step in the conquest of Normandy.

Caen was the metropolis of the fertile region called Calvados. It is estimated to have had at that time a population of forty thousand people.[1] Situated on the river Orne, it was a great distributing centre for goods which arrived both by land and by sea. Corn, cider and oxen came in by land, wool and wine by sea. The drapers of Caen carried on a large industry in cloth-making; the new houses of the wealthy burgesses vied with the more ancient hotels of the provincial nobility, who had seats in this local metropolis. The importance of the city is seen by the fact that for the next two years king Henry made it the head-quarters of his army, and by the great efforts he made to have the town colonised from England. By its capture he hoped to gain considerable wealth for his undertaking, but in this he and his soldiers were disappointed, as the inhabitants had prudently sent much of their property to other places.

The siege lasted in all exactly a month. This was a serious check to Henry's career of conquest, and

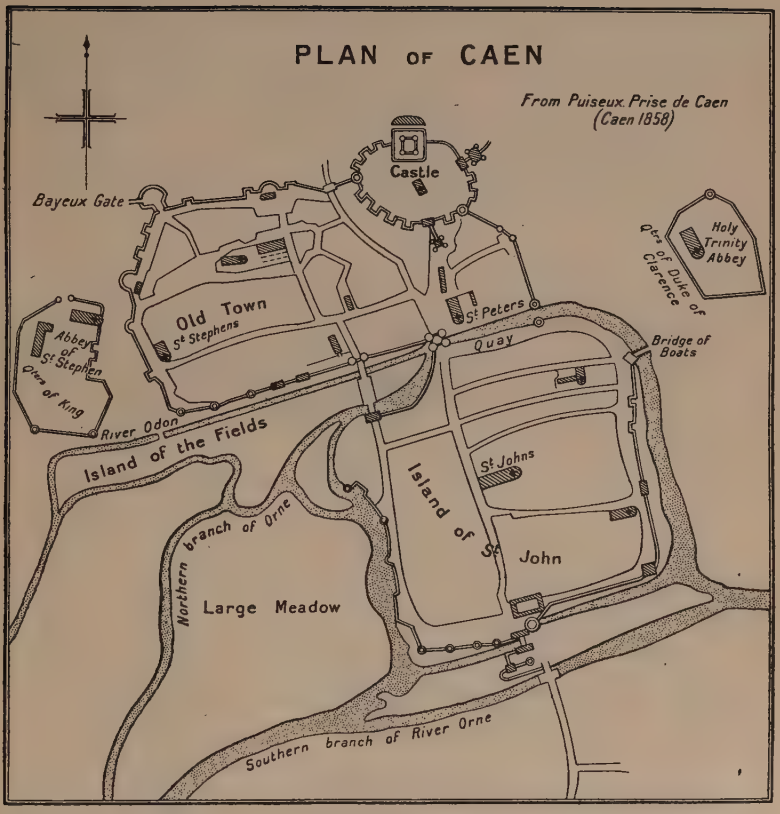
[1] Puiseux, *Prise de Caen*, 13. But Lavisse, *Histoire de France*, IV, 374, puts the population at 25,000.

would have been more serious had the French government known how to utilise the delay. But the parties of Burgundy and Armagnac were still disputing for the person of Charles VI. On 18 September, the Duke of Burgundy appeared with armed forces outside Paris. The Armagnacs still held Paris, indeed, but their rule there was a reign of terror, which made the population of the capital more ready than ever to oppose them, and to choose the Duke of Burgundy.[1]

Caen, although a walled town, was by no means strong, as it was cut in two by the river Orne, and also could be commanded by two abbeys: St. Stephen and Holy Trinity, on the west and east sides of the town. Some attempt was made to hold these by the townspeople, but the day before the arrival of the English army, the dashing Duke of Clarence had come up galloping with one thousand men-at-arms, and had seized the monastery of St. Stephen. There king Henry fixed his quarters during the siege, while Clarence fixed his at Holy Trinity. The other commanders were stationed round the town at regular intervals, and trenches were dug to connect all together. English ships in the Orne prevented any chance of relief from the sea.

The siege was conducted personally by the king with the greatest prudence. The towers of St. Stephen's monastery afforded him excellent opportunities of viewing the whole situation. He even had some small cannon taken up on to the roofs and

[1] Monstrelet, *La Chronique*, CLXXXIII.



PLAN OF CAEN.

Face page 198.

towers, so that shot could be poured into the heart of the town.[1] The river was spanned by portable leather boats, stretched on wooden frames, which allowed the soldiers to pass quickly in large numbers from one side to the other.

The siege is an interesting one in the development of military science; it shows a curious union of ancient and modern methods. The archers can have been of little use; more execution was probably done by the light guns on the roofs and towers. The heavier cannon fired great balls, made of iron or of marble. The English also used a species of shell, a hollow iron ball, stuffed with straw, sulphur and other combustible material, with a fuse attached. The whole became ignited when the ball was hurtling through the air, so that as a result much of the town was burned. The walls which seem to have been rather weak (Caen had been unwalled in the days of Edward III) soon showed breaches made by the English artillery, but the besieged managed to repair them each night. Then king Henry started his men digging mines under the walls; but the besieged discovered these by placing vessels brimful of water on the ground. If a mine was being dug below, the water was seen to tremble.[2]

But Caen was doomed. Its defenders, one thousand two hundred men-at-arms, and between five and six

[1] Walsingham, op. cit., II, 323.

[2] See Puiseux, *Prise de Caen*, 40–4, where authorities are quoted.

thousand burgess militia, were no match for the English army. On 4 September, seventeen days after the siege had opened, the town after it had been summoned to surrender by the king was taken by assault. The Duke of Clarence was the first to effect an entrance over the walls; he then fought his way with his men across the town to the west side, where the king's forces were making the assault. The burgesses were attacked in front and behind. Caen being thus taken by storm after terms had been offered was the booty of the victors. Another account says that the Earl of Warwick was the first to scale the wall, but that he waited on the top for the Duke of Clarence to come up.[1]

But Henry is said to have kept his men in order of battle until next morning, when he summoned the magistrates before him in the town-hall, and adjudged some (it is not said how many) to death for their stubbornness; the rest were heavily fined. Next he assembled the army, and after making a speech commending them for their work, he divided the booty of the town among them.[2] It is probable that complete order was not maintained among the soldiers, but it is agreed that Henry was very strict in preventing violence to women, and that the churches at least were carefully protected.[3]

[1] *Pageant of R. B. Earl of Warwick*, p. 73.

[2] The king first made the booty over to the Duke of Clarence, who generously divided it up among the soldiers. Henry only reserved for himself "a goodly French book, of what history I have not heard." *First English Life*, 92.

[3] "Elmham," op. cit., 113.

Although the town of Caen was taken on 4 September, the garrison of the castle did not agree to capitulate until the 14th with a period of grace to be allowed till the 19th, in case the French government should send an army to relieve them. This did not happen, and accordingly the garrison was allowed to march away taking with them any money they had up to the sum of 2000 gold crowns for each man. King Henry gave every soldier a safe-conduct to Falaise.[1]

Henry took up his dwelling in the ancient palace of the Norman dukes, the "Manoir du roi," and he made proclamation that all people either in Caen itself or from the rest of Normandy, who should come and swear allegiance to him as king of France and Duke of Normandy, might take up their dwelling peacefully in the city. A number took advantage of this offer, but it seems certain that the bulk of the people of Caen prepared to emigrate. Their places were partly filled by colonists from England, tradesmen from London, who hoped to carry on the commercial prosperity of Caen for themselves. Some brought their wives with them, and some married native heiresses. The lower clergy of the country seem as a whole to have acquiesced in the English supremacy. King Henry greatly favoured the town, and reduced the taxes which had hitherto been levied by the French government.[2] He himself

[1] Walsingham, op. cit., II, 325; Rymer, *Foedera*, IX, 493–4.
[2] "Elmham," op. cit., 117–18.

remained in Caen till 1 October, and again next year from 24 to 28 February, and finally made a long stay from 21 April till 21 May, 1418. After that he transferred his attention to Rouen.

While Caen was being besieged, divisions of king Henry's army had been sweeping the country around, and had captured a number of places including the important cathedral towns of Lisieux and Bayeux. The commanders of the English flying columns were empowered to offer life and property to all who would submit and swear allegiance.[1] But there is no record of any place that could be defended being given up by the inhabitants without a struggle.

The rest of the winter was spent by the king partly in pursuing his piecemeal conquest of Normandy, partly in diplomatic negotiations with the Duke of Brittany and with the royal government of Paris. With Brittany the existing truce was easily extended; but the peace negotiations with the French government were as futile as ever. Henry must have been greatly tempted to make a dash for Paris; but he was right in first establishing a firm power in Normandy; an advance on Paris might have caused the Duke of Burgundy, who himself hoped to command in Paris, to turn against him.

Leaving Caen on 1 October, Henry spent three days in taking the castle of Courcie; he then passed on, capturing without great difficulty Argentan, Sées and Alençon. Then he proceeded to a more difficult

[1] Rymer, *Foedera*, IX, 500.

HOW EARL RICHARD BESIEGED THE TOWN OF CAEN
Warwick Pageant. Brit. Mus., Cottonian MS., Julius E. IV

CITY OF WESTMINSTER
PUBLIC LIBRARIES

task, on 1 December, the siege of the strong city of Falaise. Caen was the burying-place of William the Conqueror; Falaise was the birth-place of his mother. King Henry must have felt that he was merely returning to the home of his ancestors. The winter was severe, but the careful arrangements[1] of king Henry enabled his army to maintain its health and spirits through December and January. On 2 January, the town yielded; on 6 February, the castle yielded likewise, the king as usual saving the lives and property of the garrison.

After a short visit to Caen, in order to superintend the distribution of forfeited lands to his English subjects, Henry returned to Falaise and then went to Bayeux, where he passed most of Lent. The Duke of Gloucester with a separate division reduced most of western Normandy, although Cherbourg, the great town and port of the Cotentin, did not capitulate till the following September. The Duke of Clarence meanwhile was taking in the small towns between Alençon and the Seine. On 9 June Henry besieged Louviers, on the river Eure, just sixteen miles south of Rouen. On 23 June, Louviers yielded.[2] During this siege he had received a deputation from the new pope, Martin V, who hoped to revive the papal position as peace-maker and mediator in Europe.[3] But neither the ambition of king Henry, nor the

[1] Cp. Rymer, *Foedera*, IX, 544, contract for lampreys to be brought from Brittany.

[2] Walsingham, op. cit., II, 329.

[3] Rymer, *Foedera*, IX, 558.

passions of the rival French leaders, gave any chance of peace at this time. On 27 June, Henry with his army had advanced to Pont de l'Arche, on the Seine (just eight miles above Rouen, towards Paris). His pontoon service[1] enabled him to circumvent this important town and bridge, so that by 20 July, the garrison besieged by English divisions from both sides of the river surrendered. Henry at once marched to Rouen.

The French government was not in a fit condition to organise a national defence. On 29 May, one of the Burgundian leaders, the Seigneur de l'Isle Adam, was admitted with his men by a sympathising burgher into Paris. There ensued till 18 July a reign of terror in the capital. The Dauphin managed to escape to safety at Melun, but the constable, Bernard of Armagnac, was one of the first victims of a prolonged and horrible massacre. On 18 July, Duke John of Burgundy, who had hitherto made his headquarters at Troyes, entered Paris with the queen, and taking possession of Charles VI, organised a new government. Thus when Henry V began to draw his lines round Rouen the Duke of Burgundy was at the head of the national French government which was opposing the English army.

So far the campaign had been most successful, half a province having been conquered, without any great loss or expense. But all the towns taken,

[1] See "Elmham," op. cit., 172, description of Henry's portable leather boats.

although important, had been of only moderate size. Henry's new move was something to strike the imagination of all France. It was no minor provincial town he was now going to besiege;[1] it was Rouen the ancient capital of Normandy, after Paris, the greatest city in France.[2]

The siege opened on 29 July. The capture of Pont de l'Arche had given king Henry access to the right bank of the Seine. Rouen itself is on the right bank of the Seine on rising ground. It communicated with the left bank by a strongly fortified bridge, which the garrison of the town held. The forces inside Rouen probably numbered about 20,000 men, of whom 15,000 were burgess militia. The regular forces thus amounted to 5000 men, or rather less. Of these 1500 had lately been sent by the Duke of Burgundy, under command of Guy le Bouteiller.

Although Henry had received some reinforcements since he left England (notably a contingent of about 1500 men, whom the Duke of Exeter brought about May, and also a contingent of Irish),[3] yet his army must have been no greater than the defenders of Rouen. For apart from the inevitable wastage caused in his forces by nearly a year of constant warfare, he had further depleted his strength by leaving garrisons in the conquered towns.[4] It was

[1] *Ibid.*, 176: "Non in debilia et modicae reputationis oppida seu castella intendebat manus regalis extendere potestatis."

[2] The population of Rouen is said to have been 300,000! Lavisse, *Hist. de France*, IV, 378.

[3] Monstrelet, op. cit., cxcvi.

[4] Waurin, op. cit., 240.

absolutely necessary to leave such garrisons, as few of the Norman gentry had acquiesced in Henry's rule, and the common people were by no means enthusiastic for him.[1]

The operations of the siege were organised with all the carefulness that was characteristic of king Henry. The army was arranged in seven divisions: one, under the king himself, took its station opposite the gate of St. Hilary; the next, under the Duke of Clarence, was posted over against the Caux Gate; the third, under the Duke of Exeter, was opposite the Beauvais Gate; the Earl Marshal besieged the Castle Gate, the Earl of Warwick the Martinville Gate. All these were of course on the right bank of the Seine. Finally, the Earl of Salisbury was given the task of besieging the outlying fortification of Rouen, the strongly fortified abbey of St. Catherine which stood on a hill.[2] Dry trenches were dug, along which men could walk securely from one division to another.[3]

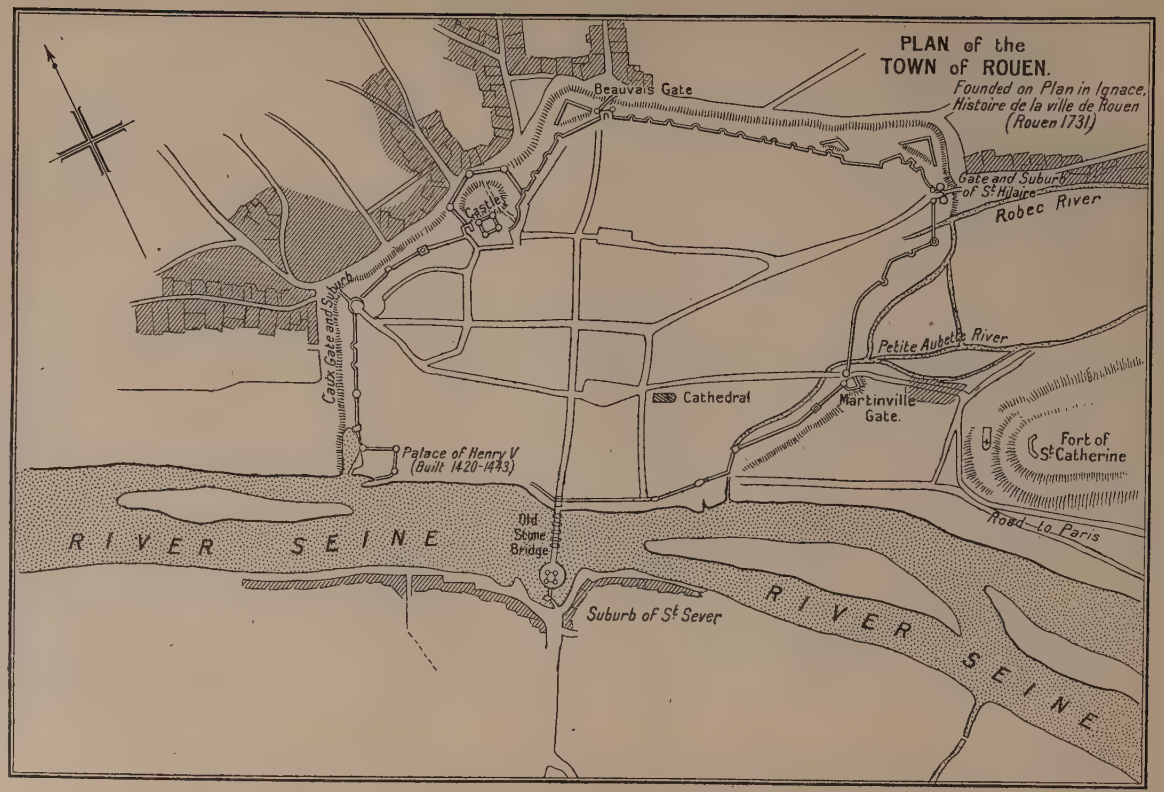
But the left bank of the Seine had also to be guarded, especially the fort at the end of the bridge. This task was given to the Earl of Huntingdon.[4] Thus only the River Seine itself remained to be dealt with. For this purpose Henry had collected a number of boats which, full of soldiers, patrolled the river

[1] See Dispatch of king Henry in *Proc. of the Privy Council*, II, 351: "no man of estate and right few gentlemen."

[2] "Elmham," op. cit., 180.

[3] Waurin, op. cit., 241.

[4] "Elmham," op. cit., 181.



PLAN OF THE TOWN OF ROUEN.

Face page 206.

both above and below the town. Many sharp conflicts took place between these and the Rouen flotilla which frequently issued from the town.[1]

But there was one weak spot in Henry's system. The Seine divided his forces, so that the Earl of Huntingdon, on the left bank, might be taken in isolation by a relieving army, and crushed. To obviate this, Henry "to whom nothing appeared difficult,"[2] caused a bridge of wood to be built, broad and supported on strong wooden columns, so that man and horse could safely cross. This bridge, as it had to span a broad and tidal river, was considered a great achievement. It was situated above Rouen; and in order that the townspeople might not row out and break it up, Henry caused great heavy chains to be stretched from bank to bank, both over and just below the surface of the water.[3] He also had some ships brought up the river specially to guard the bridge. As these could not pass up from below Rouen (owing to the town-bridge which the garrison held), Henry had his ships drawn up on to the bank, and dragged over the fields to a point above the city, and there launched.[4] Finally, the estuary of the Seine was watched by a fleet from Henry's ally, the king of Portugal, so that convoys could freely arrive from England, and no French ships could force their way up the river. King

[1] *Ibid.*
[2] *Ibid.*, 182.
[3] Waurin, op. cit., 241.
[4] "Elmham," op. cit., 182

Henry had no intention of letting his forces depend for sustenance on the vicious system of living on the country. Food in abundance was brought by a great fleet from England ; the citizens of London especially earned the king's gratitude by sending generous supplies of wine and beer.[1]

The siege lasted nearly six months, but was devoid of excitement. Although the garrison made frequent sallies, these were never very dangerous. The condition of the national government prevented any determined effort at relief. The citizens of Rouen belonged to the Burgundian party. But the Duke of Burgundy at Paris did nothing to help the besieged towns, although he levied war-taxes.[2] The siege was practically a blockade. On 1 September, the abbey of St. Catherine capitulated. In the same month Caudebec, on the right bank near the mouth of the Seine, agreed to capitulate, if and when Rouen did so.[3] The Duke of Gloucester joined the king's forces, after having successfully concluded a ten-months' siege of Cherbourg.

The besieged soon began to find supplies of food running short ; so to lessen the number to be fed, many of the unwarlike part of the population were ejected from the gates. This happened shortly before Christmas.[4] But king Henry would not acquiesce in this advantage to the besieged, and

[1] *Ibid.*, 182–3.
[2] Du Fresne de Beaucourt, *Histoire de Charles VII*, I, 38.
[3] "Elmham," op. cit., 190.
[4] *Memorials of Henry V* (Rolls Series), 53.

refused to let the ejected people pass beyond the ditches of the town.[1] Yet although sternly refusing to let the ejected depart, he allowed his own men if they pleased to give them food, and himself provided them with occasional meals.[2] This was all Henry would do. For the rest, the besieged had to look after their own population. On Christmas Day the king gave them all dinner.[3] Their sufferings must have been great. Outside the wall, women sometimes gave birth to children. Although the besieged would not admit the ejected people back, they drew up the newly born children in a basket, and had them baptised; then the babies were delivered back to their mothers.[4]

Meanwhile John of Burgundy had promised to bring an army to relieve the city. So Henry put his army upon digging more works, this time to prevent attacks from without. All the possible approaches from the country without were ditched and defended. A flat field, where attacking artillery might operate easily, was cut across by a specially large ditch, with a steep mound made of the heaped-up earth. Inside the king's lines, at a moderate distance from the besieged city, another ditch was dug right round the three sides of Rouen, so deep that no horseman from the city could get across for night attacks.[5] The fall

[1] The number is estimated at 12,000. Lavisse, *Hist. de France*, IV, 380.

[2] "Elmham," op. cit., 192; *Memorials of Henry V*, 53.

[3] Holinshed, op. cit., 566.

[4] Waurin, op. cit., 248.

[5] "Elmham," op. cit., 193–5.

of the city, especially as the rumoured relief of Duke John came to nothing, was now only a question of time. By the end of the year, it appears that corn and wine had given out; the carefully saved horses had been mostly consumed, even mice and rats fetched a high price.[1]

Accordingly, early in January, 1419, a deputation of the most responsible citizens obtained a safe-conduct to visit king Henry. He received them with his habitual dignity, giving no sign in his countenance either of anger with them or of relief at their offer. They asked for terms. The king quietly replied that with them lay the responsibility for the miseries caused by the siege to the poor. If the city had acknowledged him at first, he would have shown it every favour. Now he would only receive an unconditional submission.

Hitherto Henry had always granted terms to the besieged. But now his position was stronger; he was acting as rightful Duke of Normandy, and regarded any one who opposed him as no better than a rebel. The deputation returned to the city to consult their colleagues. The citizens and garrison agreed that it would be better to die fighting than to submit unconditionally. So they resolved to sally out at night after setting fire to the city, and to stake their lives on an attempt to break through the English lines. News of this design reached Henry from the city; and as he would rather have Rouen

[1] *Ibid.*

in good condition than in ashes, he allowed Archbishop Chichele of Canterbury, who was with him in the army, to signify to the citizens that he would grant terms. The treaty was accordingly drawn up and signed on 13 January.[1]

The terms were that the city and castle should be given up to him on 19 January. The citizens were to pay an indemnity of 300,000 crowns.[2] All arms and accoutrements of war were to be given up to the king; the garrison, with leave to retire, was to swear not to bear arms against Henry for a year. The king was to have ground for building a palace, but he bound himself to compensate any citizen for loss occasioned thereby. During the time between the capitulation and the actual giving up of the city, the citizens were to take back the ejected poor people who were living about the ditches, and were to see to their proper feeding. All citizens, of either sex, who should choose to swear allegiance to king Henry, could keep their goods and property. Eight persons by name were exempted from the amnesty, of whom one, Robert de Lynet, the archiepiscopal vicar-general, died in prison, and a second, Alan Blanchard, the captain of the burgess militia, was hanged.

Before the army entered the city on 19 January, Henry sent in advance an adequate and trustworthy guard, to prevent any chance of plundering by the

[1] Monstrelet, *La Chronique*, ccii.; Rymer, *Foedera*, IX, 664–7.

[2] Calculated by Ramsay, *Lancaster and York*, I, 266, to be equal to £50,000.

soldiers.[1] The citizens were not expelled, and all the privileges granted by Henry's ancestors to the city were confirmed. Guy le Bouteiller, the commander of the garrison, a Norman by birth, took the oath of allegiance, and entered Henry's service.[2] He is the first Norman gentleman who is mentioned by name as doing so.[3]

Henry remained at Rouen till 21 March, engaged in building his palace, and in organising a civil administration for Normandy, and in sending out flying columns to take in the small neighbouring towns which still held out. Caudebec surrendered as agreed, on 23 January, Tancarville on the same day, Lillebonne on 3 February, Honfleur on 5 March. Thus all the lower Seine was in English hands. To the north-west of Normandy, Dieppe and Eu capitulated in February; while Vernon and Etrepagny in the country about the upper Seine, towards Paris, also capitulated.[4] Henry went from Rouen to Evreux at the end of March, and remained there till 3 April. From thence he removed to Vernon-sur-Seine, where he dated an Act on 7 April. He remained there till 26 May. This was on the very border of Normandy. From there he set out to invade the Isle of France. His next Act was dated from Mantes, on 28 May.[5]

[1] "Elmham," op. cit., 197–200, for an account of the capitulation.

[2] *Ibid.*, 203.

[3] But Lavisse, *Hist. de France*, IV, 375, agrees that in all a fair number of Norman nobles and gentry accepted the English domination.

[4] "Elmham," op. cit., 204–6; Rymer, *Foedera*, IX, 674 ff.

[5] Rymer, *Foedera*, IX, 717, 722–56, 757.

HOW EARL RICHARD WAS AT THE SIEGE OF ROUEN
Warwick Pageant. Brit. Mus., Cottonian MS., Julius E. IV

LIBRARIES

The historic fortress of Château Gaillard in his rear was still untaken. It was blockaded by the Duke of Exeter, but did not capitulate till 23 September. This completed the conquest of Normandy, with the exception of Mont St. Michel, which though blockaded more or less severely for the next twenty years was never taken.

CHAPTER XI

THE TREATY OF TROYES

After the capture of Rouen, there was little severe fighting, yet there was no peace, until the Treaty of Troyes was concluded on 21 May, 1420. Even this did not bring peace to king Henry, although it brought a kind of legal consummation to his ambition.

During this intervening period, the condition of France was terrible. The party of John, Duke of Burgundy, held the king Charles VI, and dominated the Isle of France, as well as most of the east, where the dominions of the Duke of Burgundy were situated, and also a considerable number of towns in the south.[1] The Dauphin, on the other hand, although a youth of just sixteen years, had a considerable party south of the Loire, especially between Bourges and Tours. At Bourges, where he made his head-quarters, he was surrounded by a body of capable and patriotic men, chief of whom was the ex-provost of Paris, Tanneguy du Chastel, a Breton of great force of character, and unswerving loyalty to his young master. Already in this band of councillors in

[1] Du Fresne de Beaucourt, *Hist. de Charles VII*, I, 45–7.

adversity, appear names which became famous in the later stages of the Hundred Years' War, when the French were driving the English out of France. Such men as the captains La Hire and Pothon de Saintrailles, were already making their mark. Amid the shipwreck of all the fortunes of France, when the reigning king was being treated as a kind of shuttlecock between the Burgundians and the English, the tradition of royalty still offered a firm basis for resistance. Around the young Dauphin what was left of the national forces could rally. He was not then—nor was he ever afterwards—distinguished for extraordinary virtues; but he had prudence and he had persistence; he had, moreover, qualities which are the prerogatives of royal birth: to be afraid of no responsibility, and to be unmoved by the overwhelming burden of cares that fell to his lot. In the disruption of society, the element of constancy is most valuable in a man. This element was given by the tradition of royalty as represented by the Dauphin Charles. The leadership of the national forces fell to him by his birth. He accepted the leadership quite naturally. At first he had only a few determined vigorous people around him. But ultimately he was bound to gather to him all Frenchmen.

King Henry was a different man from the Dauphin Charles. He had more vigour, a far more active mind, and more fervid genius. Contrasted with the sombre youth of the Dauphin, the short life of Henry V

is brilliant in the extreme. His achievements in these short years are infinitely more striking. Yet Henry's work, if it did not die with him, only lasted a few years more, owing to the personality of one man, his brother John, Duke of Bedford. The Dauphin lived on to see not merely the expulsion of the English from France, but the downfall of the Lancastrian dynasty in England. But throughout the life of Henry V, the Dauphin experienced little except misfortune.

During the siege of Rouen, king Henry was engaged in diplomatic negotiations both with the Burgundians and the Dauphinists (as the Armagnac party was now called, since the murder of Constable Bernard of Armagnac). The Duke of Brittany, whose mother, the Duchess Joan, had been the second wife of Henry IV, acted as mediator. But the negotiations had no effect, except in so far as they gave king Henry time quietly to push forward his conquests. Henry, however, was not insincere in proposing peace, but he would only make peace on terms, and those were terms which his opponents would not grant. He never pretended that he would accept peace on anything less than the terms of the "Great Peace" (Treaty of Bretigny, 1360)—the cession of all the lands which Edward III had conquered with the addition of Normandy which Henry had already conquered.[1] It is true that he carried on practically simultaneous negotia-

[1] Rymer, *Foedera*, IX, 628, 630.

tions with both Burgundians and Dauphinists. Yet no objection can be taken to this, for in 1418–19 he was at war with both, and therefore was right in trying to get the best terms he could from either party. But king Henry was very careful not to act deceitfully. He definitely promised in the event of one party making peace with him, that he would not thereafter enter into negotiations for fresh or better terms with the other party.[1]

Up to the Treaty of Troyes all the proposals were of the same kind, and were equally without result. On 26 October, 1418, during the siege of Rouen, king Henry appointed the Archbishop of Canterbury and other commissioners to treat with the Dauphin, "so-called regent," with regard to peace. In his instructions Henry showed that he was willing to give up his claim to the crown of France, but in return he demanded, "the sovereignty and lordship of Touraine, Anjou and Maine," and "the country and Earldom of Flanders." Flanders would be held as a fief of the French crown, but the rest Henry was to hold in full sovereignty. Normandy he considered as already his, and therefore he would not hear of the Dauphin proffering that "or any other thing that the king hath now in his hands." If the Dauphin would accept these terms, Henry was willing to join forces with him, to subdue the party of Burgundy, and to bring internal peace to France. Finally, the question of a

[1] *Ibid.*, 646, 763–4.

marriage between Henry and the princess Katherine, sister of the Dauphin, was to be taken in hand.[1]

It must be remembered that at the time when king Henry made these offers he was at war with the Dauphin's enemy, the Duke of Burgundy. The town of Rouen which Henry was besieging was Burgundian, and Guy le Bouteiller, commander of the garrison, was specially appointed and sent by Duke John. So it was not Henry who broke the treaty of neutrality between himself and the Burgundians. Rather it was Duke John who had put himself into an impossible position, first in allying himself with the enemy of France, and then making himself head of the central French government.

Accordingly, while negotiating with one of his enemies, the Dauphin, Henry also negotiated with the other, the Duke of Burgundy. It was the misfortune of France that she had now two governments; Henry negotiated with both, and it cannot have been a secret to either party that he was doing so.

The representatives of Henry V and of the Dauphin met on 16 November, 1418, at Alençon. The offers made on the part of the Dauphin were clearly such as Henry could not accept, without giving up a great part of what he had fought for. The Dauphin offered to cede some important castles and lands in the south-west, also "Normandy beyond the Seine, except Rouen and its viscounty."[2] The lands ceded

[1] *Ibid.*, IX, 626–31. [2] *Ibid.*, IX, 632–7.

were not to be given in full sovereignty, but only in fief. Naturally these offers failed to bring peace. It was doubtful whether England could really expect to hold French provinces perpetually; but one thing is certain, it was not worth while trying to hold them on terms of feudal allegiance to the French king. The history of the "Angevin Empire" is one long example of the dangers in which England was involved by her king being also a vassal to the king of France. In the negotiations with the Dauphin, Henry's ambassadors rightly maintained that whatever lands their master might receive in France, he would have no superior in them but God.[1]

Negotiations with the Dauphin having failed, king Henry, from his camp before Rouen, on 1 December, 1418, commissioned ambassadors to treat with Charles VI, or rather with the Duke of Burgundy, in whose power Charles VI then was. Next month (1 January, 1419) he granted safe-conducts for the Dauphin's envoys to come to Louviers. On 12 February, 1419, king Henry went so far as to empower his representatives to arrange a personal meeting with the Dauphin. For this purpose a truce was agreed to by Henry on 16 February. All this time negotiations for peace were going on with Charles VI and the Duke of Burgundy. On 17 April, 1419, negotiations were taken in hand at Vernon for a personal interview between Henry and Charles VI, or failing him, between Henry on the

[1] *Ibid.*, 639.

one hand, and the Queen of France, Isabella, her daughter, the Lady Katherine, and the Duke of Burgundy on the other. The peace-making Duke of Brittany was also to be present. Of the meetings proposed,—one with the Dauphin, the other with Burgundy,—only the second actually took place. For the purposes of this interview a truce was arranged to last till 15 May. If necessary, of course, the truce could be extended.[1]

As a matter of fact the personal colloquies did not begin till 29 May. The place agreed upon was the "Champ de la Chat" between the towns of Meulan and Mézy. In this meadow by the Seine, tents were set up, and a regular camp with police to keep order was established, according to a convention drawn up between the two parties. The field was practically an island, having the Seine on one side and a lake on the other. It was equally divided, the French keeping to one part, the English to the other. Each side swore that no treachery would be attempted. The whole field was marked off by ditch and palisade. The two parties passed the day in tents on the field, but the attendants lodged outside the barricade. Each side brought one thousand armed men. These also remained outside the barricade. Seventy-six men on either side, exclusive of the principals, were allowed within the enclosure.[2]

[1] *Ibid.*, 654, 662, 686, 696–8, 709, 719.

[2] *Ibid.*, 759; Monstrelet, *La Chronique*, ccvii.; Ramsay, *Lancaster and York*, I, 270, note 4.

The conferences took place at intervals throughout the month of June. Henry's demands were simple, though not such as the French at this time were likely to concede. He demanded all that was contained in the Great Peace of Bretigny (Aquitaine and Ponthieu), together with the Duchy of Normandy, all in full sovereignty. This amounted to very much less than Charles VI and the Burgundians conceded next year at Troyes. But at this time the fortunes of France were not really low, for the breach between Burgundians and Dauphinists was only a small one. Henry also requested what he had so often asked for before, the hand of the Lady Katherine in marriage.

Charles VI, as was expected, was unable to attend. The French government was therefore represented on 29 May, by the queen Isabella, the Lady Katherine and the Duke of Burgundy. The two parties entered the field from opposite ends at the same moment. Henry with his brothers, Thomas and Humphrey, and attended by his council, met the French deputation in the centre. The king respectfully bowed to the queen, and then kissed her. He also kissed the Lady Katherine who received the salute with blushing, and much maidenly agitation.[1] She was at this time eighteen years old, beautiful, tall and with a gracious manner.[2] The Duke of Burgundy then saluted the king, by bending the knee a little, and

[1] "Elmham," op. cit., 222. He calls the scene "pax a justicia sumens oscula."

[2] Monstrelet, op. cit., ccvii.

inclining the head. But Henry took him by the hand and kissed him, and did him great honour. Then they entered the council-tent, Henry leading the queen Isabella. They conversed inside for a long time, taking leave at last of each other "honourably and humbly." The king returned to Mantes, and the French party to Pontoise. Another meeting took place next day, and more during the following weeks, but in none of these did the Lady Katherine again appear.[1]

In reply to Henry's demands for Aquitaine, Ponthieu and Normandy, the French offered Normandy and lands in Aquitaine of equal value to Ponthieu. In return they asked him to give up his claim to the French crown, and to promise not to try to get better terms from the Dauphin. Both of these demands Henry easily agreed to. They also asked for parliamentary confirmation of the treaty in England (this Henry refused), and restoration of the dowry of Richard II's queen (this Henry agreed to, although he disputed the amount). It is clear that the obstacles to peace were not really great. Henry was anxious to finish the war and to get back to England. He had no intention of being involved in a lifelong war in France, like Edward III. He agreed to give up the claim to the French crown, and the lands he had conquered outside Normandy. He still asked for Ponthieu but he no longer insisted

[1] *Ibid.* Conferences took place on June 1, 5, 13, 16, 26, 30. "Elmham," op. cit., 223–5.

on Aquitaine (he possessed Guienne already. If the French had given up Ponthieu the question of parliamentary ratification might easily have been settled. It was well known anyhow that Henry would keep his word.[1] Nor would the marriage with Katherine have been difficult to settle, although the negotiations about the dowry would have been long and tedious. But it is clear that the French would rather have war than give up any more than Normandy. For at this time (June, 1419), they felt that their fortunes were reviving. The Dauphin had sent Tanneguy du Chastel with offers of peace and alliance to the Duke of Burgundy at Pontoise.[2] These overtures had been successful, even while the conferences with Henry were going on. France was to be united again, and would expel the invader. So the conferences with Henry came to nothing, except that the spark of love, if any had been previously lighted between the king and the most noble Katherine, was inflamed more abundantly, from their now having seen each other.[3]

A final conference had been arranged for 3 July, and although Henry knew of the negotiations with the Dauphin, yet he wished to keep the appointment. But the French commissioners simply did not appear at the place of convention.[4]

[1] Cp. Lavisse, *Histoire de France*, t. IV, 375: "This king, rigid and hard, but faithful to his word."

[2] Monstrelet, op. cit., ccvii.; "Elmham," op. cit., 224.

[3] *Ibid.*, 225.

[4] *Ibid.*

The Duke of Burgundy thought he could expel the English without cessions. The result was unexpected. When next Henry entered into negotiations for peace, he would accept nothing less than the whole of France; and by this time he could not be refused.

The Duke of Burgundy and the French court left Pontoise on 7 July, and proceeded to the Ponceau-Saint-Denis, three miles from Melun, where he was to meet the Dauphin. On the 8th a personal interview took place, during which the Duke and the Dauphin conversed alone in a tent from about six o'clock in the evening till eleven o'clock.[1] On 11 July peace and alliance was signed with the Dauphin,[2] and on the 19th it was published by an ordinance of Charles VI.

Henry saw that the time for action had again arrived. On 30 July he publicly proclaimed that the truce was at an end.[3] The same evening he sent out a column from Mantes, under Gaston de Foix, "Captal of Buch." Marching all night, the Captal surprised Pontoise in the morning, although it had a strong Burgundian garrison under the Seigneur de l'Isle Adam. Henry then advanced his army to Pontoise himself. He was already threatening Paris.

At Pontoise Henry remained during the first half

[1] Du Fresne de Beaucourt, op. cit., I, 43, 44, 143, 44.
[2] Rymer, *Foedera*, IX, 775–9.
[3] "Elmham," op. cit., 227.

of the month of August. The Duke of Clarence led a body of troops in front of Paris, and remained in that neighbourhood for two or three days, expecting to have a fight with forces from the city. But nothing happened. Armed brigandage was common in the Isle of France at this time, but king Henry's strong arm reached out on every side, and did much to put it down. He left Pontoise on 18 August, and won some small towns; at the end of August he instituted a strict blockade of Gisors, a town and great castle of the Vexin. The town yielded on 17 September, the castle on the 23rd. Gisors was one of the most important points for defending Normandy against the Isle of France. Henry planned a great addition to the fortifications of the town, but he did not live to carry out the work.[1]

Meanwhile matters were not going smoothly between the Dauphin and the Duke of Burgundy. Duke John made no efforts to stop the steady course of conquest which Henry had recommenced on the news of the treaty made between the Dauphinists and the Burgundians. The Duke did nothing to safeguard Paris, but kept himself at St. Denis, or yet further off at Lagny. He even continued negotiations with king Henry, who received them tranquilly, knowing that the Duke's duplicity was only advancing the English cause. In August the Duke moved on to the county of Champagne, where the towns were in the hands of his captains. He still

[1] *Ibid.*, 231–5.

did nothing to join the Dauphin, as he had agreed to do, in an offensive movement. But he began massing troops at Provins and at Troyes. The Duke and Dauphin were to have another interview, to arrange for the settlement of the government and the defence of France. The place assigned for the interview was Montereau, a small town and castle on the left bank of the Seine, near its junction with the Yonne. There the Dauphin arrived punctually as he had promised, on 24 August. But Duke John held back at Troyes, where his scattered forces were now gathering. He at last left Troyes on 28 August, and advanced to Bray, fifteen miles from Montereau. There the Dauphin's counsellors came to urge him to attend the interview. At length, on Sunday, 10 September, the Duke with three thousand men, advanced to Montereau. The castle was delivered up to him as a surety. This was about three o'clock in the afternoon. At five o'clock the Duke went to the bridge (over the Seine) on which the interview was to take place. There was a barricade at either end of the bridge, and near the centre was another enclosure. The Duke coming from the right bank passed the first barricade and entered the enclosure by the wicket. The Dauphin was waiting for him. Both duke and prince were attended by ten of their councillors. All wore swords. The Duke bent one knee to the ground and humbly greeted the Dauphin. After a few words the Duke seems to have stood erect and the two continued their conversation.

The talk took a less friendly turn as the young Dauphin began to reproach the Duke with having made overtures to king Henry. He pressed John to make a definite decision to join forces to resist the English. The Duke requested the Dauphin to come and have the matter settled in the presence of king Charles. The Dauphin replied truly that he was better at Montereau than at the court of his father. One of the Duke's men, the Seigneur de Navailles, then laid his left hand on the Dauphin's shoulder, and said, "You will come to your father," at the same time half drawing his sword. The Duke seems also in his excitement or nervousness to have touched his sword. He was immediately cut down by Tanneguy du Chastel and the Dauphin's gentlemen. The Dauphin himself was hurried out of the enclosure as his men-at-arms rushed in to deal with the alarm.

Such was the famous murder on the bridge of Montereau, which, as a result, laid the greater part of France at the feet of the English, and produced thirty-five more years of war. There is no evidence that the murder was premeditated, nor that the Dauphin had anything directly to do with it. He was then sixteen and a half years old.[1]

The murder at Montereau produced the Treaty of Troyes, which was the highest point reached by English power in the Middle Ages. There was no longer any chance of union between the Dauphinists

[1] A complete and detailed account, with all the sources compared, is given by G. Du Fresne de Beaucourt, op. cit., I, 144–72.

and the Burgundians. The young Duke Philip, son of John the Fearless, had hitherto supported the national cause against the English. His great regret was that owing to the ambiguous conduct of his father, he had not been present at the battle of Agincourt. But the murder at Montereau changed his attitude. Disgust and hatred filled his mind towards the Dauphinists, and to revenge his father's death he became willing to join forces with Henry V.

Henry remained at Gisors till 7 October; on the 9th he was back at Mantes. Here he conducted negotiations with the new Duke of Burgundy. The diplomacy of king Henry had now a great opportunity since the murder at Montereau. At the end of November he returned from Mantes to Rouen, where he remained till 18 April, 1420.[1] He had already sent to Philip of Burgundy who acted for king Charles VI, proposals practically identical with those finally concluded at Troyes, six months later, namely, that Henry should marry the Lady Katherine, should be regent of France, during the lifetime of Charles VI, and should succeed to the French throne at the death of that monarch. Duke Philip "considering the innumerable and enormous evils which have hitherto ensued from the wars, . . . and which in all probability will continue to ensue in the future," formally gave his approval to these proposals.[2] This was on 2 December. The conquest of

[1] Rymer, *Foedera*, IX, 802, 803, 810 ff., 825, 888.
[2] *Ibid.*, IX, 816–18.

France seemed suddenly to have become a simple matter for king Henry. On 24 December a truce was arranged with Charles VI and Duke Philip, but excluding all places obedient to the Dauphin, to last till the first of March, 1420.[1]

The sweeping proposals of Henry — infinitely more than he had ever demanded before in treaty-negotiations—had thus been approved by Philip of Burgundy, who held the king Charles VI. The only real condition exacted from Henry V was that he should assist the Duke in his war of revenge against the Dauphin,—which condition really meant that the Duke would lend all his power to England, to drive Henry's last enemy out of France. Nevertheless time was required for such a tremendous revolution as that involved in the proposed treaty. Meanwhile king Henry, who knew it was best not to press matters too quickly, remained quietly at Rouen, letting both Normandy and the Isle of France realise the blessings of peace. Commerce was allowed to come and go in the dominions of Charles VI. Henry exchanged cordial messages with the city of Paris, and promised to maintain all its privileges when he "came to hold the rule of the kingdom of France."[2] The administration of Normandy took up much of his time. Owing to the fact that many of the higher clergy had left the Duchy, rather than recognise Henry's rule, ecclesiastical affairs required to be reorganised. Accordingly these

[1] *Ibid.*, 822. [2] *Ibid.*, 854, 855.

months at Rouen are full of charters and royal letters directed to monastic houses, cathedral chapters, hospitals. The lower clergy do not seem to have occasioned any trouble. Then the Norman towns required attention, their privileges had to be inquired into and confirmed, the regulations of the Norman mint drawn up, and the debased French coinage superseded. Taxation was adjusted and the king's peace enforced.[1] At the same time the districts north of the Loire which still acknowledged the Dauphin were being invaded; by the end of February all the Beauvaisis and the Amienois had been subdued.[2] The only check received by the English was on the sea, when in January the Dauphinist admiral de Bracquemont with French and Castilian ships defeated an English fleet off La Rochelle.[3] But this defeat had no effect on Henry's position.

On 9 April Charles VI by royal letters formally approved of Henry's proposals, and agreed to wait at Troyes in Champagne for a personal interview with Henry V, and for the formal concluding of the treaty. On 23 March Henry was back in Mantes, and declared an extension of the truce with Charles VI, to last till one or other of the two parties chose to declare it ended. From 28 April to 8 May, Henry was at Pontoise where his forces assembled. When the army advanced further into the Isle of France, they found that spring had come and the ground was

[1] *Ibid.*, IX, 832–90. [2] Waurin, *Recueil des croniques*, 284–5.
[3] J. J. des Ursins, *Hist. de Charles VI*, 374–5.

all "starred with bright flowers."[1] Marching up the right bank of the Seine, with, it is said, fifteen thousand men, he reached St. Denis and then passed by the ditches of Paris without trying to enter the city. The populace came out and watched curiously and with approval the long English columns filing past. The Marne was crossed by the bridge at Charentan. On 14 May, the army was outside Provins. Here some delay occurred. Gradually, however, the army advanced, crossing the Seine which runs east in this part, at Nogent. On 19 May Charles VI signed a procuration giving to his queen and to Duke Philip of Burgundy full power to represent himself, and to conclude the terms of a final peace. Next day, 20 May, king Henry, having been met outside by the Duke of Burgundy, entered Troyes. All the terms of the peace had been already arranged by the English ambassadors who had been for over a month with the Duke. There was nothing left but to sign the treaty.[2]

On entering Troyes Henry at once visited the afflicted Charles VI, whom he found enjoying a "lucid interval."[3] The two monarchs conducted themselves so that neither showed either superiority or inferiority of position. This visit over, Henry went back to the house which had been assigned as

[1] "Elmham," op. cit., 249.

[2] Rymer, *Foedera*, IX, 890, 894; Walsingham, *Hist. Anglicana*, II, 334; "Elmham," op. cit., 250; Waurin, 285–8, 291.

[3] "Elmham," op. cit., 251, "beneficium intervalli lucidioris adeptus."

his quarters. As it was not large enough to hold all his staff, he caused the walls of the adjacent houses where they lodged to be opened up, so as to make communication easy with the king's quarters. One half of the town was given up to the French court, the other to the English.[1] In order that his men should not disgrace themselves and cause disturbance by getting drunk, Henry issued an order that no Englishman should take any wine unless it was watered.[2]

On the next day the princes and magnates assembled in the cathedral church of St. Peter. Charles VI did not attend. There were present on the English side king Henry, his two brothers, the Duke of Clarence, and the Duke of Bedford (who had come from England, the third brother, Humphrey, taking his place as warden there).[3] Archbishop Chichele of Canterbury was also present in his position of first constitutional adviser of the crown. In all there were forty lords of Henry's council present. On the French side there were the queen Isabella, the Lady Katherine, the Duke of Burgundy, with the Chancellor of France and others of the Great Council, forty in all. Henry and the queen Isabella met in the middle of the church, and together they ascended to the great altar. There the articles of the treaty were read out, and then sealed with the seal both of France

[1] But the English soldiers were lodged outside the town in the neighbouring villages. Monstrelet, *La Chronique*, ccxxv.

[2] "Elmham," op. cit., 251.

[3] Rymer, *Foedera*, IX, 907.

and of England. After this king Henry and the Lady Katherine joined hands, and plighted their troth.[1] Oaths were taken by Philip of Burgundy and the French magnates to observe all the articles of the treaty. The burgesses of Troyes were also sworn, representing the third estate of France.[2] It was noticed at the ceremony that the English nobles made a much more splendid appearance than those of France. The French marvelled where such clothes and valuable rings and jewels came from.[3]

The treaty of Troyes is perhaps the greatest surrender ever made by one great power to another. It is to be remembered, however, that it was really only conceded by a section of France. And that portion of France which did *not* assent won in the end.

The treaty opens with a statement that the various celebrated treaties negotiated between France and England had not produced the expected peace. It then adverts to the terrible evils caused by the present state of war to both kingdoms and to the whole Church. Next follows the first article, to the effect that by the marriage contract between Henry and Katherine, Henry has become the son of Charles VI and Isabella, and they his parents. The second article secures that Henry will do nothing as long as Charles VI shall live, to prevent him from

[1] Walsingham, op. cit., II, 334.
[2] "Elmham," op. cit., 252–3.
[3] Waurin, op. cit., 291–2.

enjoying the crown and royal dignity and revenues of France. Nor will he prevent queen Isabella from enjoying the dignities of queen. Then follow three articles guaranteeing a proper allowance to Katherine (about £7000 a year) in England, and a smaller allowance from French land, if she should outlive Henry. The sixth and seventh articles are the most important: after the death of Charles VI, the crown and realm of France with all their rights are to remain with Henry and his heirs; and meanwhile, owing to his father-in-law's "diverse sickness," Henry is, during Charles' lifetime, to administer the government of France, "with the Counsel of nobles and wise men of the same realm." The next four articles secure that Henry will maintain all the privileges of nobles, cities, communities and individuals; shall preserve the authority and superiority of the Parlement of Paris, in all the realm of France; that justice shall be administered according to French laws and customs; and that Henry shall see to the appointment to all offices in France of such persons as "after the laws and rights of the same realm . . . ought for to be taken and deputed to the same offices." Article 12 binds Henry to labour to put into obedience to Charles VI all places "holding the party . . . commonly called Dauphin or Armagnac." The next articles prescribe the forms of oath to be taken by the estates of France, with regard to observing the conditions of the treaty. By article 14, all conquests made against the Dauphin outside

the Duchy of Normandy, are to be given up to Charles VI, and all persons obedient to him there, are to be restored to their lands. Articles 14, 15, 17, guarantee their position and privileges (provided they accept the treaty) to all beneficed clergy, monasteries, churches, universities and colleges of students, in Normandy or the kingdom of France. Article 18 pledges Henry, when he succeeds to the crown of France, to bring Normandy and all other places conquered by him in France, under that crown. By article 19, all persons who have lost lands, rents or possessions, by obeying Charles VI in Normandy or elsewhere, are to be restored or compensated. The next two articles govern the style of writs, which are to run in the name and with the seal, wherever possible, of Charles VI. By articles 21 and 22, Henry is not to use the title of king of France during Charles' lifetime; and Charles is to style him "Our very dear son, Henry, king of England and heir of France." Article 23 protects France from impositions not justified by her laws and customs. Article 24, a most important one, provides that to prevent any future conflicts between the two countries, Henry will labour with the estates of each realm to have it ordained that the two crowns will always be united in the same person, but that one crown shall not be subject to the other, and that each realm shall keep its separate rights, laws and customs. Article 25 enacts that henceforth between the two realms there be "peace, tranquillity, good

accord, and common affection and stable friendship and steadfast"; and they are to give each other common assistance against all manner of men. Article 26 provides for the inclusion of the existing allies of either realm in the peace. Article 27 binds all three, Charles VI, Henry V and the Duke of Burgundy, not to make peace with the Dauphin, one without the others. In the French version this article is made "out of consideration of the horrid and enormous crimes and misdeeds" of the Dauphin. The last articles (30–31) provide for the court and household of Charles who was not to be taken out of his dominions, and who was to be attended only by persons born in the kingdom of France, or places in which French was the spoken language.[1]

French chroniclers speak of this treaty as disgraceful.[2] The unnatural thing about it was that the mad king, Charles VI, was induced to disinherit his son who was not a bad man. Yet the Frenchmen who negotiated it are not to be considered as unpatriotic and denationalised. It was not a conquest of France by the English; France (outside Normandy) was not conquered. It was not a surrender of France to the English. It was a personal union of two realms in the line of Henry V, who was not without French blood in his veins. The kingdom of France, and all Frenchmen, kept their laws and rights just as

[1] Latin and French versions in Rymer, *Foedera*, IX, 895–904; English version, 916–20.

[2] J.J. des Ursins, op. cit., 378, "bien merveilleuse et honteuse."

before. The council and estates of native Frenchmen were to govern France, just as the council and parliament of Englishmen governed England. The only constitutional or personal change made by the Treaty of Troyes was a change of dynasty. The house of Valois was disinherited, and the house of Plantagenet put in its place. The change need not have been any more offensive to the French than was the personal union of England and Scotland under the house of Stewart in 1603, or of England and Hanover under the house of Brunswick in 1714. The difference lay in the matter of consent. The English in 1603 and 1714 adopted foreign dynasties voluntarily. The French in 1420 accepted a foreign dynasty, largely under compulsion. So the union never had much support in France. But had Henry V lived to see middle age, and had France, as is conceivable, become the predominant partner in the union (being larger and wealthier and more cultured), the sentiment with which Frenchmen regard the Treaty of Troyes would undoubtedly have been different.

CHAPTER XII

FRANCE AFTER THE TREATY OF TROYES

Much still remained to be done before Henry could return to England. South of the Loire he had no power; even north of the Loire the Dauphin had many friends. Most of Anjou and Maine acknowledged him, while further east in Champagne itself, Sens and Montereau, in the Isle of France, Melun and Meaux were held by his captains.[1]

King Henry was not one to make delays. One of the stipulations laid down in the Treaty of Troyes had been the obligation on his part to bring back, so far as he could, the "rebel" districts to obedience to Charles VI. Henry almost at once set about his task. On 2 June, the marriage between himself and Katherine was solemnised in the cathedral of Troyes. Only the third day after, he led away his troops to the siege of Sens, accompanied by Charles VI, the two queens, Isabella and Katherine, and Philip of Burgundy with his own forces. But king Henry would not suffer Charles, on account of his affliction, nor the two queens on account of their natural disinclination, to be actually present at the siege. They were lodged in a town called Villeneuve-le-roi.[2]

[1] J. J. des Ursins, op. cit., 379. [2] "Elmham," op. cit., 267–8.

HOW KING HENRY V WAS MARRIED TO DAME KATHERINE OF FRANCE

Warwick Pageant. Brit. Mus., Cottonian MS., Julius E. IV

CITY OF WESTMINSTER
PUBLIC LIBRARIES

The investment of Sens on the river Yonne was completed on 7 June, and the town capitulated after its bridge had been taken by assault. King Henry then advanced north towards Montereau, taking in some small Dauphinist towns on the way. Like the rest of this war since Agincourt, it was an affair of sieges. The Dauphin did not risk his fortunes on pitched battles, but defended his towns, and when he had the opportunity, took new places or cut off convoys.

On 16 June Henry was at Bray on the Seine, and on 4 July he was at Montereau. The siege had meanwhile been carried on with great vigour by Philip of Burgundy, anxious to take from the Dauphinists the scene of his father's murder.[1] On 23 June Montereau had been taken by assault. Duke Philip found in a grave in a church his father lying all gashed as he was, in his tunic and cap. The body was removed and laid in the family burying-place in Dijon. The town of Montereau was taken, but the castle held out till 4 July, when a capitulation was granted by Henry on honourable terms.

On 13 June[2] the siege of Melun had been begun. Charles VI and the two queens were deposited out of the way in the castle of Corbeil.[3] The siege of Melun is the third greatest siege in this the second invasion of Henry V into France. The first was

[1] *Ibid.*, 271.

[2] *Ibid.*, 277.

[3] *Ibid.*, 275. But towards the end of the siege they were present in the camp. Charles' presence would make it easier for the garrison to surrender. Monstrelet, op. cit., ccxxviii.

that of Caen; the second, Rouen; the third, Melun, occupied four months. This town, on the right bank of the Seine, was one of the most strongly fortified in France. It dominated the river and commanded the road to Paris. The best military science of the Middle Ages, which was particularly fruitful in methods of fortress-defence, had been utilised for it. The Seine and its arms made three lines of defence; the massive walls smoothed over with a preparation of asphalt, were equally proof against man or cannon-ball; the ditches were of extraordinary depth, and lateral walls cutting them at right angles to the main walls, would isolate the bodies of assailants from one another, and expose them to deadly cross-fires. On all the walls were strong high towers at the important points; and in front were ante-mural defences, smaller towers, but of great strength, connected with the main fortifications, and filled with artillery and other devices for harrying the besiegers.[1] The defence of this important town had been committed by the Dauphin to the Seigneur de Barbazan, one of his most experienced and trusted captains.

The siege was conducted by king Henry mainly as a blockade. All the ground was occupied by troops of England or Burgundy, and all the waters and branches of the Seine were patrolled by boats. In late September or October king James of Scotland, who had now during fourteen years been a captive in

[1] "Elmham," op. cit., 276.

England, joined king Henry's army in front of Melun. The besieged made many sorties, but could not tempt king Henry to order an assault of the walls. The Anglo-Burgundian forces were strengthened by the arrival of Lewis of Bavaria, Count Palatine, a relation of queen Isabella's, with reinforcements. This man was anxious to distinguish himself by feats of arms, and disliked the slow process of the blockade. With the Duke of Burgundy he tried to persuade Henry to order the assault. Henry "patiently and gently heard him" and then "pointed out to him that the matter was very perilous." But he added, "since they had that fancy, let them prepare the scaling ladders, and brushwood and faggots to fill up part of the ditches. And when from the side on which they were stationed they were ready to make the assault, from his side he would do his duty."[1] In time the assault was made, but proved a failure. Some of the English were inclined to complain and to say that the Burgundians and Bavarians deserved the heavy losses they had sustained. But king Henry answered, "that supposing their intention had not been accomplished, nevertheless the affair had been valiantly done and undertaken; and in matters of war, mistakes might be as valuable as successes."[2]

The siege went on with no more assaults. Instead Henry took to digging mines, in which he was very

[1] J. J. des Ursins, op. cit., 380.
[2] *Ibid.*, 381.

expert. The besieged used the usual devices to discover the mines, by listening for hollow sounds in the ground, or for the noise of pick on stone in the mine below. Counter-mines were dug, and many conflicts took place between besieged and besiegers in the narrow passages thus opened up. King Henry himself entered the mines and fought many "duels" there, on one occasion, with the Seigneur de Barbazan himself.[1] Nevertheless, although king Henry's forces could not make an entry into the town, the defenders suffered greatly from shortness of food. By the middle of October all the flour gave out, and there was no more bread. The soldiers had to live on horse, "which is a thing little or not at all nourishing."[2] As the main article of diet, it did not agree with the men's digestions, but produced stomachic troubles. Yet the Seigneur de Barbazan and his soldiers held out obstinately, although they must now have given up all hope of relief. For although the Dauphin had gathered together sixteen thousand men to raise the siege, the design had been abandoned, chiefly owing to the sudden and lamented death, on 1 September, of the commander of the army, the young Comte de Vertus, brother of the Duke of Orleans. King Henry appreciated the valour of the besieged, and praised their courage;[3] but he would not grant them easy terms, when they had delayed his army so long.

[1] "Elmham," op. cit., 286; *First English Life*, 168.
[2] J. J. des Ursins, op. cit., 383. [3] *Ibid.*, 382.

Henry's army was also suffering from the siege. Winter was at hand, and in the damp country-side, dysentery seems to have attacked the soldiers.[1] But Henry was known never to retire from an unfinished siege. He steadily went on filling up the ditches with faggots, and he had great beams specially prepared and used as battering-rams. He was kept well acquainted with the state of affairs in the town, by information gained from prisoners. The besieged were almost at the end of their resources. Accordingly the commander, the Seigneur de Barbazan, had no course left open but to surrender to Henry, who after such a prolonged siege and so many losses, would grant no terms. On 17 November[2] the town and castle had to be yielded up, with everyone inside, and their life or death left to the mercy of the king. Most of the garrison were taken in boats to Paris, and there imprisoned.[3] Twenty of the Scotsmen serving in the Dauphinist garrison were executed.[4]

After making arrangements for repairing the walls of Melun, and leaving an English garrison there, Henry with Charles VI, the two queens, and the Duke of Burgundy, marched to Paris, which they

[1] "Elmham," op. cit., 287.

[2] Rymer, *Foedera*, X, 29–30.

[3] "Elmham," op. cit., 287–8; J. J. des Ursins, op. cit., 284–5, who says Henry first granted terms, and then violated them. But the exact terms are given by Monstrelet, op. cit., CCXXXI, 296–7. All surrendered "en la grace."

[4] Holinshed, *Chronicles*, III, 577. They were convicted of treason, as their king James I was in Henry's army (as a prisoner).

entered on 1 December. King Henry, while the siege of Melun was still going on, had already sent one of his captains, who took over from the unwilling Burgundian captain the command of the Bastille.[1] About the same time, the other fortresses in and around Paris were given up to English captains. King Henry put his brother Clarence over the whole city as captain, after getting Charles VI to send the Burgundian captain away on a diplomatic mission into Picardy.[2] But this precaution does not seem to have been necessary to secure a good reception from the populace. The Burgundian party had always been popular there. Moreover, the entry of the Anglo-Burgundian forces meant peace in the Isle of France, and the consequent reopening of trade and commerce. Before this, the price of food, owing to the state of war, had risen so high, that the whole city was said to be in want.[3]

The day of the entry of the kings into Paris, 1 December, was the first Sunday in Advent. The French authorities agree that they were given a very fine reception. Great numbers of the Parisian burgesses assembled to greet them. The city was gay with rich hangings of cloth. The two kings rode side by side, Charles VI on the right, and Henry V on the left. Behind them came the English and Burgundians; on the right side of the street, behind

[1] "Elmham," op. cit., 182–4.
[2] Monstrelet, op. cit., CCXXIX, 294.
[3] J. J. des Ursins, op. cit., 374.

the French king, came the Dukes of Clarence and Bedford, and the rest of the English, while on the left side, behind king Henry, came the Duke of Burgundy, clothed in black, and the rest of the Burgundians. From street to street rang from the citizens, the cry of Noel ! " loud and high."[1] " Never were princes received with more joy than they were."[2] Before Notre-Dame was reached, a procession of clergy appeared on foot, offering the kings holy relics to kiss. Charles VI turned to king Henry and made him a sign to kiss first, but Henry, courteously touching his cap, replied that Charles should be the first. So it was done. Then all proceeded to Notre Dame, and entered and made their prayers before the high altar. After this the kings and noblemen mounted their horses again, and went to their separate lodgings, Charles VI to the Hôtel St. Pol, king Henry to the Louvre, and the Duke of Burgundy to the Hôtel d'Artois. On the following day, the two queens rode into Paris, with a similar great reception from the burgesses. Conduits in the streets were made to run with wine.[3]

The twenty-seven days during which Henry remained in Paris were taken up with business. The Parlement of Paris, the highest court of law, met to enquire into the murder of the late Duke of Burgundy. An assembly of the Estates of France

[1] J. J. des Ursins, op. cit., 384–5 ; Monstrelet, CCXXXII, 298.
[2] *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris*, 665.
[3] Monstrelet, op. cit., CCXXXII.

was held, and finally the necessary appointments of officials were made, before Henry could retire to England.

The Parlement met at the Hôtel St. Pol. Charles VI and king Henry sat together on the same bench, as judges. The Dauphin and his associates, in absence, were formally accused of the murder at Montereau, and were adjudged to do penance in various ways. The Estates-General, which also met at the Hôtel St. Pol, had much important business to transact. It consisted principally of men who had not already sworn to the Treaty of Troyes.[1] It met on 6 December, and was opened by Jean le Clerc, the Chancellor, with a sermon on the evils which war had brought to France. Then the Estates were dismissed to reassemble on the third day. At the next session accordingly, the great peace, the Treaty of Troyes was promulgated, and sworn to. Charles VI, for the time being clear in his mind and master of his faculties,[2] rose and with uncovered head, declared that of his free will he desired the Treaty of Troyes, and that all his subjects were perpetually bound by it. At the same time, in the Estates, the Dauphin was solemnly declared incapable of inheriting the crown.

Measures were taken for the financial stability of the kingdom. The French coinage was in a particularly bad state, having been steadily debased, as the

[1] "Elmham," op. cit., 289.
[2] *Ibid.*, 290–1.

fortunes of France waned. The mark was now made equal to eight francs; actually seven francs of silver were to be put into each mark, the remaining one franc being the seigneurage of the government—by no means a high seigneurage, according to the practice of the Middle Ages. The regular taxes were imposed, the privileged burgesses, merchants and clergy having alike to contribute their share. The University of Paris, which had so often braved the wrath of French monarchs, demanded exemption for its members from the taxes. King Henry gave them an audience, and spoke freely and haughtily with them. When they ventured on a remonstrance, they were silenced by the threat of being sent to prison.[1]

King Henry in the Estates announced his intention of returning to England, and he immediately took measures for the government in his absence. His brother, the Duke of Clarence, was appointed to be Lieutenant of France, the Duke of Exeter was given the position of guardian of king Charles VI. English captains in certain cases displaced Burgundian officers.[2] Meanwhile Henry held his court at the Louvre in royal state. His attendant Englishmen were distinguished by their splendid bearing and their rich apparel. But the court of king Charles, at the Hôtel St. Pol, was small and poor; and no one visited him but a few of his old servants, and some

[1] J. J. des Ursins, op. cit., 384–5.
[2] Monstrelet, op. cit., CCXXXIII, 299.

people of small estate. This caused great sorrow to many Frenchmen, seeing their noble kingdom by fortune and tribulation of war, put under their ancient enemies;[1] so that Paris, "the ancient seat of the royal majesty of France," was become "a new London."[2]

After the celebration of Christmas, Henry left Paris on 27 December. He went first of all to Rouen, where he issued ordinances for the government of the Duchy of Normandy. He held a parliament of the officials and nobles of the Duchy.[3] Arthur of Brittany did homage for his lands in Normandy.[4] The Duke of Clarence, the royal deputy in the kingdom of France, was also appointed deputy in Normandy. Two great Dauphinist nobles of the south sent representatives to make their submission; the Count of Armagnac, whose family had lately been the head of the patriotic French party, and the Count of Foix, who had previously conquered Languedoc for the Dauphin, now, by their deputies, acknowledged king Henry's power. This act seemed to show that king Henry had now attained an unquestioned position throughout France. The Count of Foix even agreed to lead an expedition to reconquer Languedoc for Henry's party. He received money for the expedition, but afterwards broke his word.

[1] *Ibid.*
[2] Chastellain, I, 198. Du Fresne de Beaucourt.
[3] "Elmham," op. cit., 292–3; Walsingham, op. cit., II, 336.
[4] Holinshed, *Chronicles*, 578.

The Estates-General at Paris and the Parliament at Rouen, in the month of December, 1420, mark the highest point which the English power reached in France. The official French government, a great part of the nobility and the bourgeoisie, had explicitly acknowledged the power of the English king: the rest of the people in at least half of France, and probably more than this, acquiesced in the English power, and where king Henry personally showed himself, openly greeted him with enthusiasm. For he brought with him military glory; he gave peace after years of civil and foreign war; and his rule, if it was strict, was just and equal.[1] Never again, after the Estates-General at Paris and the Parliament of Rouen, not even at the coronation of Henry VI at Paris in 1431, was the English power so near to getting some sort of acceptance throughout the greater part of France. The Dauphin was an outlaw, and his party depressed by a series of heavy losses. But from this time, his power, with a few fluctuations, steadily recovered.

From Rouen, apparently at the beginning of the year 1421, Henry proceeded towards Calais. On the way, towns, such as Amiens, which had formerly been hostile to him, now greeted him joyfully. On all sides, Henry made liberal presents among the people. At Calais, the burgesses and the merchants of the Staple came out from the city to meet him, but more, it is said, to see his young queen,

[1] Walsingham, op. cit., II, 245.

than to see the king, who was already known to them.[1] Without delaying in Calais, the king and his small following (for practically all his army remained behind in the garrisons of France),[2] took ship and landed at Dover on 8 January. Then by Canterbury and Eltham, the royal party went on to London and Westminster.

[1] "Elmham," op. cit., 294–5.
[2] Walsingham, op. cit., II, 336.

CHAPTER XIII

HENRY IN ENGLAND

On this, his second return to England, Henry was treated with the same enthusiasm as when he came back after Agincourt. The French war was still popular; it was not costing England much, taxes had not been increased, and the successes of the king had been unbroken.

As a rule chroniclers do not care to describe the same thing twice, and for this reason a smaller amount of space in contemporary annals is given to the triumph accorded to Henry on his second return than on his return from Agincourt. Yet there is plenty of evidence to show that the triumph was actually just as great. It must not be supposed that the country was at all weary of the French war, or that Henry's position had not been strengthened by it. He was now by far the greatest king of his time in Europe, and as far as his own person went, the most firmly established on the throne.

When the king's ship put in at Dover, the assembled barons of the Cinque Ports, regardless of their costly clothes, leaped into the water, and brought the king, and also the queen upon their

shoulders, to dry land.[1] There they were met by a great assemblage of clergy, nobles, and people, who enthusiastically cheered both king and queen. But Henry, without delaying long, took his bride on to Canterbury. There he stayed a few days, and then went on to London. Queen Katherine, however, was left at the royal manor of Eltham, while the king went forward to prepare for her reception in the capital. This did not take long; in a few days, as arranged, the queen entered London. Pageantry, magnificent as that of the year of Agincourt, was displayed. The streets were filled with citizens; music was heard, artificial towers and gateways were erected, symbolic statues were placed prominently along the route, masques were held in open spaces. Effigies of lions, which moved their eyes and limbs, showed by their life-like actions how readily even they obeyed the queen. Castles bristling with war-like instruments, filled with armed men, opened their gates, and capitulated without a blow. Elaborately garbed apostles, martyrs, confessors and virgins sang hymns to the queen as she passed.[2] The day was one of triumphant procession, a testimony to the popularity of the king, as well as to the beauty and the charming bearing of the new queen. Finally, this time of rejoicing was concluded on 24 February, by the coronation of the queen in Westminster, followed by a splendid coronation banquet, consist-

[1] "Elmham," op. cit., 296.
[2] "Elmham," op. cit., 296–7.

ing—for the time was Lent—of every known kind of fish.[1]

Almost as soon as he returned home, Henry set out upon a progress through his kingdom. In the Middle Ages it was customary for the king to show himself frequently in the country. This gave his subjects the chance of seeing him. It gave the king a chance of holding court, and settling disputes, also of seeing that law and order were properly kept in districts remote from the head-quarters of government. Finally, the progress enabled the king to live for short periods in the various royal manors in the country, or to accept the hospitality of nobles and towns, so that the problem of royal housekeeping was considerably simplified. Thus the king combined business with pleasure: he attended to his subjects' wants locally, and observed things which did not necessarily come before him when local representatives came up to parliament. He consorted with his subjects in towns and villages; and he found opportunities, as a rest from administration, for a day's hunting now and then, in places which he had not hitherto tried.

So as soon as the coronation of the queen was over, king Henry went on progress, largely for business, partly for pleasure, and also for religious purposes, for he made his tour include many of the holy places of England.[2] He travelled through the

[1] Holinshed, *Chronicles*, 579.
[2] "Elmham," op. cit., 300.

Midlands to the Welsh March, as far as Shrewsbury, and gradually worked round again, till at Easter he was at Leicester, where by arrangement he met the queen. For Katherine had not at first gone on the progress, but had remained quietly at Windsor, till the time came for her to go to Leicester to meet the king. Here Henry and his court celebrated Easter, which fell this year on 23 March. Next they proceeded northwards, till they reached York on 2 April.[1] From there the king turned south again, and visited the shrine of St. John of Beverley. This was probably on 9 April.[2] It was just after leaving Beverley that he received news of the disastrous battle of Beaugé,[3] which was to hasten his return to the labours of the war in France.

Beaugé was one of the critical battles of the Hundred Years' War. Its effects cannot be overestimated. It decisively checked English influence in France. Though king Henry almost at once reestablished the power of England, yet he could only do so temporarily. His constitution, never particularly strong, had no time to recover and be restored after the prolonged campaigns of the years 1417 to 1420. Beaugé recalled him to warfare in France, when what he really needed was an interval of rest. It is to be noted, however, that *before* he heard of the defeat, he had already declared his intention of

[1] Rymer, *Foedera*, X, 96.

[2] The king was at Howden, on the return journey, on the 11th. Rymer, X, 100.

[3] "Elmham," op. cit., 303.

returning to the scene of action "in the immediate future."[1] In a document issued from York on 7 April, he instructed the Earls of Northumberland, Westmoreland and others, to raise loans for his forthcoming expedition to France, and to pay over the money at the royal treasury before the first of May. This was before the news of Beaugé reached the king. Therefore this news, when it did come, cannot have hastened Henry's return to France by more than one or two months. The importance of Beaugé lay in this: it showed that the English were not invincible, and that having experienced defeat once, they might often have to face it again at the hands of the French, especially when Henry V was no more.

The battle of Beaugé is therefore important because of its moral effect on the Dauphinists, and all France, and because it hastened the return of Henry V to France for the last time. Actually it was a conflict of no great magnitude, either in respect of the number of men engaged, or of the amount of territory immediately lost or gained. When Henry V in January, 1421, left Rouen for England, his eldest brother, the Duke of Clarence, was appointed to be the king's Lieutenant or deputy in France. Clarence was a vigorous and faithful supporter of Henry. He was at this time aged thirty-two, and was distinguished as a dashing leader of horse, and, like the king, he was trusted and admired by all who

[1] "In proximo." Rymèr, *Foedera*, X, 96.

followed him. His reputation, however, was not so great as that of Henry, nor were his abilities, though eminent, of such a high order. The Dauphin understood this well, and accordingly, as soon as king Henry had left France, he recommenced hostilities. He already was master of practically all the land south of the Loire. In the spring of 1421, he mobilised an army, consisting not only of French, but of Scots, brought to support the Dauphinists, by the Earls of Buchan and Wigton.[1] An invasion was begun against the Anglo-Burgundian sphere to the north of the Loire. Clarence, with his customary resolution, took immediate steps to check this offensive movement before it could be developed. Normandy was occupied by English garrisons, so he was able to raise a considerable force there, estimated by the chronicler des Ursins at about five thousand men, of whom a large number were archers. He marched southwards into Anjou, and by the day before Easter, 22 March, he was near Beaugé-en-vallée,[2] which is on the little river Couasnon in Anjou, north of the Loire. The Dauphinist army already occupied the villages of the valley. Clarence, pushing forward with his cavalry, perhaps 1000, or 1200 men in all, crossed the stream, the passage of which was held by twenty-five Scottish archers long enough to enable numbers of the French to come up to the scene of action.[3] The Duke, after crossing the

[1] The Scots entered France by the port of Rochelle.
[2] J. J. des Ursins, *Hist. de Charles VI*, 389. [3] *Ibid.*

marshy stream,[1] became engaged with the enemy; most of his archers were still some considerable way behind, and took no part in the action. The French fought on foot, with the Scottish archers distributed among the men-at-arms. The English were totally defeated, with great loss, including the Duke of Clarence. When the action was over and the French had retired, the main body of Clarence's force came up, and recovered the bodies of the Duke and those who had died with him. They then retreated towards le Mans.[2]

Such was the news which reached king Henry after he had left Beverley. The king took the night to consider the matter, and in the morning called a council of the nobles and officials who were with him.[3] This probably took place at Howden on 11 April. All who were present agreed that the king should go abroad.[4] Henry himself does not seem to have hesitated for a moment. When five years before he had set off on the campaign of Agincourt, he had risked all, on the chance of winning a new kingdom in France. Now that he had won his kingdom, he could not let it slip from his grasp owing to any deficiency of energy on his own part. So he sent off word to his officers in France that they should hold their posts at all costs till he came, and he promised to arrive at the scene of action

[1] Walsingham, op. cit., II, 339.
[2] J. J. de Ursins, op. cit., 390.
[3] "Elmham," op. cit., 307.
[4] *Ibid.*, 308.

before the day of St. John the Baptist, 24 June.[1] Nothing more could be done at present. So the king and queen continued on their way to London.

On 2 May[2] parliament met at Westminster. This was not an extraordinary session occasioned by the news of Beaugé, for the writs of summons must have gone out before the news of that battle reached king Henry. The business for which the parliament was originally summoned was "to remedy any wrongs and excesses that had been committed in the realm since the last passage of the king." Henry was present in person. The Chancellor, the Bishop of Durham, in the opening sermon, referred to the great deeds of king Henry, and also to the lamented death of the noble Duke of Clarence. For Speaker, the commons presented to the king, Thomas Chaucer, a son of the poet.[3] The business of the session was transacted without any difficulty, as there seems to have been thorough accord between Henry and the Estates. The Treaty of Troyes was confirmed. No special taxes were imposed for the forthcoming expedition of the king, but the council was authorised to guarantee all debts which Henry should contract for the purposes of his war in France.[4] Sufficient money was forthcoming in the country. The clergy granted "a tenth," and the king's uncle, Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, lent £14,000, to be

[1] *Ibid.*, 309.
[2] *Rolls of Parl.*, IV, 129.
[3] *Rolls of Parl.*, IV, 130.
[4] *Rolls of Parl.*, IV, 130.

repaid out of this clerical tenth. The king was already very heavily in the debt of this patriotic prelate whose sincere love of peace did not prevent him from risking his fortune till the war should be finished.

Money must always have been a great difficulty for Henry V, for the parliament expected him to carry on a great foreign war, without increasing the taxes of the kingdom. Any loans raised were supposed to be the king's private affair, for which he had to pledge his jewels, and such other assets as he possessed. The above authorisation of parliament to the council to guarantee the king's debts, is perhaps the nearest thing to the recognition of a national debt to be found in the Middle Ages in England.

The budget of the government took no account of war or other extraordinary expenses.[1] In a statement drawn up by the council while parliament was sitting (dated 6 May, 1421), the national revenue is put down as £55,743, out of which had to be paid all the regular expenses of the central government, including the custody of England, Ireland, the Scottish Marches and Calais. When all these expenses were met, a surplus of only £3507 was left, to pay for the household of the king and queen, for public works, such as building a tower at Portsmouth, and

[1] The nation intensely disliked taxation. Even the ordinary taxes and loans necessary for the administration at this time were received "with smothered curses." Adam de Usk, *Chronicon*, 320.

for important officials, such as the clerk of the king's ships, the constable of the Tower of London, not to mention the keeper of the king's lions.[1]

It appears that Henry meant to spend as little as possible on this new expedition. Within little over a month of the meeting of parliament, everything was ready. When he embarked at Dover on 10 June, he took with him less than 1000 men.[2] For the most part his army was to be made up of the garrisons in France, and to be paid for from the revenues of Normandy, and the domains of Charles VI. The queen, who was shortly to be confined, remained in England. The Duke of Bedford also remained to look after the home administration, while the king's other brother, the Duke of Gloucester, went with the army to France. The unfortunate king James of Scotland had still to follow Henry, although there were many good Scots now fighting for the Dauphin.

[1] *Proceedings*, II, 312–15.

[2] Walsingham, op. cit., II, 340; Ramsay, *Lancaster and York*, I, 295, note, gives the numbers from a B. M. MS. as 210 lances and 630 archers.

CHAPTER XIV

THE LAST EXPEDITION

Henry's presence was badly needed in France. For the Dauphin was making progress on every side. From the south-west he actually threatened Paris, although Chartres, which was held by a Burgundian garrison, at present blocked his way. In Champagne and Picardy successes had been gained against the Anglo-Burgundian party by Etienne de Vignolles, better known as La Hire, "one of the flails of the English under Charles VII."[1]

King Henry had the faculty of looking at a country as a whole. Accordingly his plan for the new campaign was on a comprehensive scale. Taking the Norman garrisons as his base, he meant to work systematically down, well to the west of Paris, to the Loire, reducing on the way all the Dauphinist castles. Next he meant to proceed up the Loire, and then to strike north-eastwards again, and thus to come up on the east of Paris, reducing as he went the important Dauphinist towns on the borders of Champagne. In carrying out this plan of campaign, Henry would describe a wide circle round Paris,

[1] Note to J. J. des Ursins, op. cit., 391.

would take in the towns which threatened the capital, and would gain control of the upper Loire and the basins of the Yonne and the Marne. A great wedge would be driven into the Dauphinist spheres of influence, and the way prepared for a further advance of the Anglo-Burgundian forces into the south.

The Dauphinists had captured so many places north of the Loire that " they held Paris as it were, in blockade."[1] From Dreux to the Loire they had a regular chain of fortresses. Twenty thousand men were besieging Chartres on the high road to Paris. East of the Isle of France, another chain of Dauphinist strongholds, from Joigny to Meaux, commanded all the approaches to Paris from that direction.

But Henry, by his systematic campaign, speedily freed the Isle of France. After landing at Calais on 10 June, the first thing he did was to collect forces and to advance southwards towards Dreux and Chartres, towards the district in which the Dauphin was personally conducting operations. But the Dauphin did not wait for the king's coming.[2] He retired to the Loire, as an epidemic had broken out in his army.[3] From this time his resolution seems to have failed him, and never again in his long life did he put himself at the head of a fighting army.[4] Chartres was thus relieved without a blow being

[1] G. du Fresne de Beaucourt, *Histoire de Charles VII*, I, 48.
[2] "Elmham," op. cit., 309.
[3] G. du Fresne de Beaucourt, op. cit., I, 50, 229.
[4] *Ibid.*, 230.

struck. King Henry did not go far south. Leaving his brother Gloucester to conduct the siege of the Dauphinist stronghold of Dreux, he himself went to Paris to see his father-in-law, and to attend to the government there. He reached Paris on 4 July, and after a stay of four days, departed for Mantes, where he met the Duke of Burgundy.[1] Then he joined his forces at the siege of Dreux.[2] This siege was the first important step in Henry's circular movement round the Isle of France.

Dreux is a strong town situated on the river Blaise. Above the town rises a high rock or hill on which a castle was built. Both town and castle were held by the Dauphinists. Henry did not stay continuously at the siege, as little more than a blockade was necessary, and the Duke of Gloucester carried the work on satisfactorily. The king of Scots remained with the forces before Dreux. Henry went back to the capital, staying however, not in Paris itself, but in the fine castle at Bois de Vincennes.[3] As the Dauphin's retiral to the Loire had made all hope of relief for the garrison in Dreux futile, the usual agreement was entered into on 8 August, that the town and castle would open their gates if no succour came within four days. Accordingly, on 12 August, the garrison of Dreux marched out freely, and the English took possession. King Henry

[1] Monstrelet, *La Chronique*, CCXLIV, 305.
[2] "Elmham," op. cit., 309.
[3] J. J. des Ursins, op. cit., 391.

arrived on 20 August,[1] and at once began preparations for his march to the Loire. He had already secured the Dauphinist places which threatened Paris. For besides Dreux other of the enemies' castles had fallen: Crocy, Tillières, Nogent, Parnan and Galardon.[2] Meanwhile the Dauphin still had large forces at Beaugency on the Loire. King Henry "as his manner was,"[3] determined not to wait to be attacked, but to march straight to Beaugency. But the Dauphin did not wait for him. Henry reached Beaugency about the beginning of September, and blockaded it for fifteen days, at the end of which the town submitted.[4] But the valley of the Loire was now incapable of supporting an army. The country round Beaugency was found to be very sterile (cultivation must have been almost completely interrupted), and the English army suffered from famine.[5] Dysentery broke out in the camp, and it was said that three thousand English soldiers died.[6] The number is greatly exaggerated, but the epidemic was evidently severe; des Ursins says that English soldiers were to be found along the roadsides, lying dead.

There was, however, no intention in the king's mind of remaining long in the Loire valley. His next objective was Villeneuve-le-roi, on the Yonne, a

[1] "Elmham," op. cit., 311. [2] *Ibid.*
[3] "Elmham," op. cit., 312.
[4] "Elmham," op. cit., 312. Cp. G. du Fresne de Beaucourt, op. cit., I, 231, letter of Dauphin to city of Lyon.
[5] *Ibid.*, 313. [6] J. J. des Ursins, op. cit., 391.

town which the Dauphinists had lately recaptured. The great city of Orleans seemed to bar the way. King Henry would have liked to invest and take this metropolis of the Loire, but the place was too strong. He halted before Orleans long enough to capture all the suburbs, which were really indefensible. The English soldiers were much relieved by the stores of wine which were found there.[1] The king then passed on. Orleans could not be taken, but it could not stop the king's march.

From Orleans Henry took a north-easterly direction, towards Joigny and Villeneuve-le-roi. The army was still suffering from famine. Men and horses alike broke down and died of hunger. Many other men would have died, had not the king, "in his pity," ordered that carts should be prepared and used for transporting them.[2] Some relief was obtained from the capture of the castle of Rougemont, which was well filled with provisions. Villeneuve-le-roi was taken on 22 September.[3] From there northwards no great Dauphinist fortress threatened the Isle of France, until Meaux was reached. This town commanded the valley of the Marne, and was too near Paris to be left untaken, as king Henry had left Orleans. The siege accordingly began on 6 October.[4]

Meaux was a large, important and well-fortified town. The river Marne ran through it, so that king

[1] "Elmham," op. cit., 313.
[2] "Elmham," op. cit., 314.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] "Elmham," op. cit., 316.

Henry had to divide his forces into two parts, to besiege it. The king must now have been feeling the effects of the bad season and the long campaigning, for he gave over the command of the camp to the Duke of Exeter, while he himself lodged at the castle of Ruthille, one mile distant.[1] The usual care, so characteristic of Henry, was taken in carrying on the siege operations. A bridge was constructed on boats to connect the two portions of the besieging army; and Henry took special care to arrange for markets to be established, where the people of the country could sell all necessaries freely and in safety to the soldiers. This was a new experience for the country-people of Brie, for hitherto one of the chief officers in Meaux, the "Bastard of Vaurus," had desolated all the region around, and ruthlessly ill-treated the peasants.[2]

The siege of Meaux was to be a long and difficult affair. King Henry must have recognised this soon, as he early left the castle of Ruthille, and took up his abode in the camp, at the abbey of St. Pharon, which stood outside the walls of Meaux. Before the year was past, the rain came down in torrents, and the Marne overflowed its banks, so that the besieged were able to issue out in small boats, and attack isolated divisions of the English. Famine again menaced the army. But king Henry organised convoys from Paris, for the road even from there

[1] "Elmham," op. cit., 316.
[2] "Elmham," op. cit., 315–16.

was not safe from Dauphinists, and at his own personal expense, he had food distributed among the soldiers. More than this, he turned his own household into a public institution, and daily provided meals there, it is said, for as many as a thousand persons.[1]

The siege dragged on for seven months. If every fair-sized town in France was to resist like this, the task of subduing the whole kingdom for king Henry would be impossible. The greatest efforts were made on the English side. But the army was greatly diminished:[2] "for this was the hardest year that man had ever seen." Henry himself was in weak health, and although he showed himself fertile as ever in devising siege-works, and building engines[3] of war, yet all his efforts were met with equal energy by the besieged.[4] It was a tedious and depressing time for everyone. But about the festive season of Christmas, to raise the spirits of the army, came the news that on 6 December the Queen in England had given birth to a son, the future Henry VI. "King Henry's heart was filled with great gladness . . . ; also throughout the kingdom there was perfect joy displayed, more than there had been seen for a long time before about any other royal infant."[5] The king must have felt more anxious than ever to finish

[1] "Elmham," op. cit., 318.
[2] Walsingham, op. cit., II, 342, "pauco exercitu relicto."
[3] "Elmham," op. cit., 323.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] Waurin, op. cit., 361.

off the siege, and to secure what he could of the realm of France, now that an heir was assured to him.

The siege dragged on during the spring. A gallant attempt to succour the besieged was made, probably at the end of February or beginning of March, by the Lord of Offemont, a Dauphinist leader who had already distinguished himself against the Burgundians in Picardy. Offemont with only forty men made his way at night through the division of the Duke of Exeter, and arrived safely in front of the walls of Meaux, where the battering of the siege-works had made the wall low. But the town-ditch had still to be crossed, and Offemont, who crossed last, fell off the plank, in full armour, into the water. Although his men reached their lances to him, he was too heavy, by reason of his armour, to be easily pulled out. Meanwhile the English watch had been roused, and coming up captured all those who had not already mounted the walls, including the Lord of Offemont. This nobleman was taken before king Henry, who was pleased that the attempt had been frustrated, and who, while keeping Offemont as a prisoner of war, saw that his person was well cared for.[1]

The failure of the attempt of the Lord of Offemont greatly discouraged the besieged, so that they began to transport their property to the southern side of the

[1] "Elmham," op. cit., 321–2; Monstrelet, op. cit., CCLVII; Waurin, 323.

river, where was the strongly fortified quarter, known as the "Market." When the transference was complete, the garrison evidently meant to follow, and defend themselves to the last there. But before this plan was accomplished, it was detected, and king Henry's forces suddenly attacked the "Town," and so forced the garrison to retire across the river to the "Market," hastily and with great loss. The peaceful towns-people and other non-combatants were left on the northern bank, in the "Town."[1] The "Market" was strong, not merely by reason of its fortifications, but because it was surrounded by channels of the river.[2] The garrison which went there consisted of desperate men who meant to fight to the death. For the Bastard of Vaurus knew that his previous acts of ferocity had left him no hope for mercy, and the Scottish and Irish members of the garrison also knew that terms would never be granted to them.

Once the "Town" was gained by king Henry matters were somewhat easier. For one thing, his army now had good quarters to live in, and the season was improving; for another, he could now concentrate a great part of his forces on the vital point of the "Market," the bridge which connected it with the "Town." This was a kind of drawbridge, and the garrison, after they had crossed over, had drawn a large section of it up. There remained, however, the section which projected from the

[1] Waurin, op. cit., 363; "Elmham," op. cit., 321.
[2] "Elmham," op. cit., 323.

northern bank, and which had not been drawn up. The hasty retreat of the garrison across to the "Market" had no doubt prevented them from destroying the "Town" end of the bridge.

It is clear from indications given in contemporary accounts of the siege that the "Market" was weakest on the river-side, as the military engineers who fortified it had probably not contemplated a siege from the side of the "Town." So king Henry concentrated much of his attention on the bridge. He invented a huge wooden turret, moving on wheels, which could be pushed on to the standing north end of the bridge. This kind of tower was so built, that when it stood on the bridge, part of it projected over the gap, where the bridge was interrupted, towards the other portion which was elevated. On to this elevated portion men were able to step, as from a high ladder, and so were able to reach the Market side, and to attempt forcing a direct entry at the Market Bridge-gate.[1] The channels of the Marne which surrounded the "Market" on the other sides were crossed in small boats and on floating bridges.[2]

By about the middle of April breaches had been made in several parts of the "Market's" walls. Accordingly king Henry sent the garrison a summons to surrender. But this was refused, so the king ordered a general assault. The besieged were now in the

[1] "Elmham," op. cit., 323.
[2] *Ibid.*, 324.

greatest straits, as most of their lances were broken. However, they managed to beat off the assault, using iron spits for lances.[1] This fight lasted seven to eight hours, and caused much loss of life on both sides.

There was now no hope of relief. The Dauphin had given up operations on a large scale, and confined himself to besieging isolated Anglo-Burgundian towns and castles. Moreover the English had captured the watermills of the "Market," so that the besieged could not grind the corn which had been stored up for the siege.[2] So about the end of April,[3] the garrison asked that negotiations for a surrender might be reopened. This request was granted by Henry, and commissioners were appointed on either side. After several meetings it was finally arranged that on 10 May the "Market" should be surrendered. The garrison were to be free with respect to their lives, with certain exceptions. Twelve men were named who should be at the will of the king. These were the chief officers of Meaux, and "one that blew and sonned an Horne during the Siege." Likewise any English, Irish and Scottish soldiers who had taken part in the defence were to be at the will of the king; and also any man who had been an accomplice in the murder of John, Duke of Burgundy, at Montereau. The rest of the garrison were to be

[1] Waurin, op. cit., 370.
[2] *Ibid.*, 364.
[3] *Ibid.*, 371.

prisoners. All goods and valuables within the Market were to be inventoried and delivered up to commissioners of the king. "And so the tenth day . . . the Market of Meaux, and all the Town was yielded in the manner and form as it is before said."[1]

The terms were carried out to the letter by king Henry. The Bastard of Vaurus was forthwith hanged on a tree outside Meaux, on which he had been wont to have his own Burgundian and English prisoners hanged. This bore the name of "the Vaurus Tree." Louis Gast, the other chief captain of Meaux, and two other officers were, as the king had explicitly mentioned in the capitulation-treaty, "put to their doom";[2] as was also "the man who had played the cornet on the wall, mocking those who were in the camp."[3] These executions took place at Paris.

After the surrender, king Henry had the booty distributed among the army, according to the customary shares; and for some days he stayed in the Market-place, "to enjoy himself a little, and rest after the labour he had undergone."[4]

The terms granted to Meaux were hard. The chief officers were invited to surrender, with the distinct promise that they would be executed. They had before refused to surrender, after the failure of

[1] Rymer, *Foedera*, X, 212–14.
[2] Rymer, *Foedera*, X, 212.
[3] Waurin, op. cit., 374.
[4] *Ibid.*

HENRY V
Brit. Mus., Cotton MS., Julius E. IV, f. 8b.

CITY OF WESTMINSTER
PUBLIC LIBRARIES

the attempted relief of the Lord of Offemont. Thus by holding out after all hope of relief was gone, they had caused additional waste of life among the besieging army. Accordingly king Henry, by the customs of war, might have stormed and sacked the "Market." Instead of this, he offered terms, on condition that the responsible officers should submit to lose their lives. These brave men agreed, and king Henry forthwith had them executed. Their doom was hard, but they must have been anticipating it all through the siege. The death of the trumpeter is to be regarded in a different light. He ought to have been beneath the notice of the king, or at least Henry ought not to have specially remembered him at the capitulation. The garrison had been needlessly insulting, as when they are said to have brought an ass on to the walls, "and made it bray by the force of the blows which they gave it, mocking the English, and saying that this was their king Henry, and that they ought to come and help him."[1] Perhaps the trumpeter had something to do with this; or it may be that he trumpeted defiantly, and that the story of the ass later grew out of this incident. The circumstances are not sufficiently known. All that can be said with certainty is that in some way he had offended against the dignity of the king, and for this he was executed. With regard to the English (if any), the Irish, and Scots, who fought in the garrison of Meaux, it is not stated that they were executed.

[1] Waurin, op. cit., 370.

Apart from the five chief men and the trumpeter who gave up their lives, there were eight hundred who were kept as prisoners of war, in Paris, or Normandy, and in the castles of England and Wales.[1]

[1] Monstrelet, op. cit., CCLXI; Rymer, *Foedera*, X, 214, 215, 225, 226.

CHAPTER XV

THE LAST DAYS OF HENRY V

When Meaux had surrendered and the "Market" had been delivered up, king Henry felt that the time had come to have his queen in France, so that she might show herself to those who were to be his subjects in France as well as to those in England. Accordingly queen Katherine left England with the Duke of Bedford (the baby prince Henry was left behind at Windsor), and landed at Harfleur on 21 May.[1] Then by Rouen they travelled with a military escort to Bois de Vincennes. They probably arrived here on or about 25 May. Here also came king Henry, from Meaux, and Charles VI, and the Queen of France from Paris. After sojourning some days at this favourite abode of king Henry, the court moved back to Paris on 30 May,[2] to celebrate Pentecost,[3] which fell this year on 31 May. Henry and his queen stayed at the Louvre, Charles VI and Isabella at the palace or "hotel" of St. Pol. Again, as on former occasions, the Parisians were disagreeably struck at the difference between the splendid court of king Henry and the

[1] Monstrelet, op. cit., CCLXIII
[2] Waurin, op. cit., 377.
[3] "Elmham," op. cit., 329.

meagre household of king Charles. They greatly murmured too at the impost which Henry took occasion to levy in order to carry through his scheme for recoining the mark. They murmured, but they had to submit.[1] Only a few days were spent by the court in Paris; the next move was to Senlis, on 12 June,[2] and to the valley of the Oise, where the last Dauphinist strongholds towards Picardy were rapidly falling in. Among these was Compiègne which had lately surrendered. King Henry paid a hasty visit to it, but within three days, he was back again in Senlis.[3]

It was at Senlis, in the middle of June, that the king began to feel acutely[4] the attacks of the disease which was soon to carry him off. He was "much more seriously ill than he thought."[5] Indications are not wanting that he had been ailing all through the siege of Meaux, but his power of will carried him on. What the disease actually was is difficult to ascertain from the vague accounts of the chroniclers. One says that he had an "acute fever with violent dysentery";[6] another refers to the illness only in general terms, as a "severe languor," and a "severe infirmity."[7] The most explicit statement is that of the chronicler Waurin, who was serving in the Burgundian army: "I have since been truly in-

[1] Waurin, op. cit., 378.
[2] *Ibid.*, 381.
[3] "Elmham," op. cit., 329; Waurin, op. cit., 381.
[4] "Elmham," op. cit., 329.
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] Walsingham, op. cit., II, 343.
[7] "Elmham," op. cit., 329, 330.

formed concerning the principal disease by which the said king was brought to his death, namely, that it was by an inflammation which seized him in the fundament, and which is called the disease of St. Anthony."[1] Probably the king was suffering from two things; from ague, brought on during the siege of Meaux, among the floods of the Marne, and from an internal ulcer,[2] which may have been caused by the incessant hardships of campaigning, combined with a lack of good food. For the king, like his soldiers, had suffered from the scarcity of good fresh food, due to the wasted condition of the country, and to the bad season.

While Henry was suffering from his malady at Senlis, news came that a great force of the Dauphin's party had invaded the territories of the Duke of Burgundy, and were besieging Cosne, in the upper basin of the Loire. The garrison was hard pressed, and had entered into a compact to surrender, unless relieved within a fixed time. So Henry, "forgetful of his illness, but mindful of his compact with the Duke of Burgundy,"[3] leaving his queen behind, set forth with what forces he had to relieve Cosne. At Senlis therefore he parted from Charles VI and queen Isabella, and from his own queen, Katherine,

[1] Waurin, op. cit., 389.

[2] Walsingham, op. cit., (II, 383), mentions that the sickness so exhausted the king's strength, that his physicians did not dare to administer medicines internally. This points to an internal ulcer, or stomachic inflammation, which might only be aggravated if the king were given medicines and crude fluids to drink.

[3] "Elmham," op. cit., 330.

none of whom he was ever to see again.[1] Being too ill to ride, he was borne in a horse-litter, "redeeming the insufficiency of his strength by the boldness of his courageous heart." But when he got as far as Corbeil,[2] on the Seine, his infirmity was worse, and even his great spirit had to yield. To advance further was only possible at the cost of his life. So he stayed at Corbeil, and sent forward his brother, Bedford, and the Duke of Exeter, with the bulk of his forces. These met the Duke of Burgundy, and without difficulty raised the siege of Cosne.

For a short time the king's condition at Corbeil took a turn for the better; but after a few days his infirmity grew worse again, so that he could not sit on his horse. But the river provided an easy route. He was placed in a barge and rowed down the river towards Bois de Vincennes. At Charentan, he disembarked, and determined not to approach the capital as a stricken man. With incredible determination, he mounted his horse, and rode for a few paces, when the terrible pain caused by his position and by the uneven motion, conquered even his resolution, and he had to take to the horse-litter again. So at last the sad cavalcade reached the castle of Vincennes, about 9 August.[3] And now for the first time the king is spoken of as definitely taking

[1] Monstrelet, op. cit., CCLXVI; Waurin, op. cit., 384.

[2] This is "Elmham's" account. Monstrelet, op. cit., CLXVI, says Henry got as far as Melun, which is seven miles further to south-east of Corbeil.

[3] Henry was at Corbeil as late as 6 August.

to his bed: "there, alas! he entered his bed of pain."[1]

The disease went from bad to worse. The king lay in bed at Vincennes for nearly three weeks, till he died on 31 August. He seemed to realise, some considerable time before the end came, that he would not recover. During this last sad time, he showed, as he had all through his life, the greatness of his spirit. For though only thirty-five years of age, having just attained the height of renown and power, he was now to be cut off, before he could see the fruits of the immense sacrifices he had made, of the great schemes he had planned, and had so laboriously perfected. He was to be cut off too, away from his own country, from the English people he knew so well, and without the chance of seeing even the son that had just been born to him. But there is no indication in any of the chroniclers who wrote about him, that he indulged in any form of self-pity. He calmly made all the arrangements possible for carrying on his work, and for the government of his country and of his son. These arrangements completed, he turned his mind to religion and prepared for the next world, with a calmness that was undisturbed to the last. The only tears he shed, were in imploring God's mercy; for the rest, "he armed himself with faith and charity, and disposed himself by all ways and means, securely to wait the advent of death."[2] Yet he was in severe physical

[1] "Elmham," op. cit., 331. [2] "Elmham," op. cit., 332.

distress all the time; the fever and the dysentery seem never to have left him, so that at his death, his body, from lack of nourishment, was of an amazing lightness.[1]

The Duke of Bedford, who had gone on in Henry's place, to keep tryst with the Duke of Burgundy before Cosne on the Loire, easily accomplished his task, and having seen the town relieved, began his return on 15 August or a few days later.[2] Bedford had a considerable body of troops with him, and was forced to travel slowly. Accordingly it was late in the month before he heard that his brother Henry was more seriously ill than ever. On receipt of this news, the Duke at once left his troops, and accompanied only by a few trusty men, rode hastily on to Paris.[3]

The Duke arrived just in time to receive the last instructions of his brother. The king was accustomed regularly to express himself in the English language. But his last words have only been preserved for us in the Latin transcription of "Elmham," and in the French version of Monstrelet. These two versions tally in very many respects, although the French version is considerably fuller. On the last night of his life, 31 August, "feeling that he was worn out by his illness,"[4] Henry called to his bedside his

[1] *Ibid.*, 336, "extenuatum, immo exinanitum."

[2] G. du Fresne de Beaucourt, op. cit., I, 53.

[3] Walsingham, op. cit., II, 384–5, says Bedford heard the news at Compiègne. It is, however, unlikely that he can have gone so far out of the way from Paris. Waurin, 385, mentions the neighbourhood of Troyes.

[4] Waurin, op. cit., 385.

brother, the Duke of Bedford, his uncle, the Duke of Exeter, the Earl of Warwick, and other counsellors to the number of seven or eight. To these he spoke in "a firm voice."[1] First he announced that he knew his death to be near. "It is certain that, by the good wishes of our Saviour, to whom be praise, honour, and thanks, I cannot, according to the condition of all flesh, escape the death that now hangs over me. Therefore if in the time of my reign, I have ruled otherwise than I ought, or if I have done any injustice to anyone—as I believe I have not—I humbly ask for pardon. For the good services, rendered to me especially in these wars, I give thanks to you, and to your other fellow-soldiers. For these, if death had not prevented me, I had intended to have awarded to each worthy rewards. I exhort you to continue these wars till peace is gained. It was not ambitious lust for dominion, nor for empty glory, nor for worldly honour, nor any other cause, that drew me to these wars, but only that by suing for my just title, I might at once gain peace and my own rights. And before the wars were begun, I was fully instructed by men of the holiest life and the wisest counsel, that I ought and could with this intention begin the wars, prosecute them, and justly finish them, without danger to my soul."[2]

Having spoken these words to the assembled

[1] "Elmham," op. cit., 332.
[2] "Elmham," op. cit., 332–3.

company, Henry turned to his noble and loyal brother John, Duke of Bedford, on whom alone now he knew he could rely to carry on the king's work. "John, fair brother, I beseech you, by all the loyalty and love you have ever shown towards me, that you will always be kind and faithful to the fair child Henry, your nephew." Further he charged John to make no treaty with the Dauphin, except one that would secure Normandy to the young Henry. Next he expressed a wish that the Duke of Burgundy might act as regent in the kingdom of France: "I advise you to give it to him, but in case he refuses, take it yourself."[1] The remaining instructions referred to the government of England (as distinct from France), which he seems to have entrusted to his other brother, who was not present, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester.[2] And he commanded that everyone should take care that the Duke of Burgundy should have no cause to quarrel with the English, adding, "and this I expressly forbid to my fair brother, Humphrey; for if it happened, which God forbid, that there should be any bad feeling between you and him, the affairs of this kingdom which are prospering for our party, might be greatly damaged thereby."[3] He concluded with the advice, that they should keep certain great prisoners, especially the Duke of Orleans, in the power of England, until the

[1] Monstrelet, op. cit., CCLXVI.
[2] "Elmham," op. cit., 333.
[3] Monstrelet, op. cit., CCLXVI; Waurin, op. cit., 386.

young Henry should become of age; "but as for all the others, do as it seems good to you."[1]

It only remained to draw the attention of his counsellors to his will and its codicils. When this was done, he firmly put from his mind all mundane affairs, and in front of his weeping friends prepared himself for death.[2] He knew that this must be near at hand. For he called his physicians to him, and requested them to tell him how long, in their opinion, he had yet to live. At first they put off telling him, saying that "it was still in the power of God to restore him to health."[3] But the king would not be content with this evasion, and requested them again to speak the truth. Then the physicians consulted together, and finally, one coming forward, knelt beside the bed, and said: "Sire, think upon your case, for it seems to us that except by the favour of God, it is hardly possible that you live more than two hours."

The king, apparently unmoved by these words, merely summoned his confessor and the other ecclesiastics of his household, and bade them recite the seven penitential psalms (vi., xxxii., xxxviii., li., cii., cxxx., cxliii.). When the chaplains, who were probably chanting the psalms, reached the verse, "Benigne fac ex benevolentia tua Sioni, aedifica muros Hierusalem" (psalm li., verse 18)—

[1] *Ibid.*
[2] "Elmham," op. cit., 333.
[3] Monstrelet, op. cit., CCLXVI; Waurin, op. cit., 387.

"O be favourable and gracious unto Sion: build thou the walls of Jerusalem"—the king made them stop, and said aloud, "that by the death he was now expecting, he had intended after he had settled the kingdom of France in peace, to go and conquer Jerusalem, if it had been the pleasure of his Creator to let him live his term of years."[1] This, it seems, was the only expression of regret which he allowed to escape his lips, at being cut off in the midst of his work, and in the prime of his life.

Soon after, he received the last communion and extreme unction. When he was in the final pangs, he was heard to say the words, "Thou liest, thou liest, my portion is with the Lord Jesus Christ,"—as if he were firmly addressing an evil spirit.[2] And again as he gave forth the last gasps, embracing the crucifix which was laid on his breast, he said in a firm voice: "Into thy hands, Lord, thou hast redeemed this life." With these words, he quietly met his death.[3] The day is always given as 31 August, but in reality it was after midnight, between two and three o'clock, in the morning of the next day.[4]

The body of the king was placed entire,[5] after embalming, in a wooden coffin, which was placed on a funeral car, drawn by four horses. Upon the coffin was placed a life-sized effigy of the king, clothed with the royal robes, and holding in the

[1] *Ibid.* [2] "Elmham," op. cit., 334.
[3] *Ibid.* Cp. Psalm xxxi. 6. [4] Rymer, *Foedera*, X, 253.
[5] "Elmham," op. cit., 336, expressly says none of the entrails was removed.

right hand the sceptre, in the left hand the orb, and on its head the crown. The king of Scots, the Duke of Bedford, the Dukes of Burgundy and Exeter, followed the chariot as chief mourners. The other nobles came behind. The procession went towards Rouen, a journey of several days. Day and night the attendant ecclesiastics held vigils, said masses, and kept all the religious observances, about which the late king himself had always taken such care. At night the coffin rested in some church, in which the clergy could maintain their constant watch. Before Rouen the aldermen and important burgesses came out to meet the procession, clad in black, and carrying lighted tapers in their hands. As the body lay in the Church of St. Mary at Rouen, the burgesses, as long as the masses were being said, stood by with their lighted tapers. From Rouen the funeral proceeded, by Abbeville to Calais, meeting signs of universal grief in the towns by the way. But John of Bedford stayed behind, to attend, according to his brother's last orders, to the critical task of governing France and Normandy: a task to which he gave up the remaining thirteen years of his strenuous and devoted life. Near Calais the procession was met by the queen, who, since parting from Henry at Senlis, had been waiting in England till summoned by the news of her husband's death.

From Calais, the body was taken to England. The citizens of London, who often before had come out to welcome their favourite victorious king,

had now an opportunity of paying their last respects to his body as it was borne towards Westminster. There, after due religious observances, the body of king Henry, on 7 November,[1] was buried amid the tombs of his ancestors.

[1] William of Worcester, *Annales*, 759.

CHAPTER XVI

THE WORK AND CHARACTER OF HENRY V

Only by considering the condition of England in the previous reign, and by looking at English history as a whole, it is possible fully to appreciate the greatness of the fifth Henry's work. In the reign of his father Henry IV, England was in perhaps its lowest condition in the Middle Ages. This weakness could be seen in many directions. In the first place, the spirit of rebellion was abroad in the land. Owen Glendower maintained open war in Wales and on the border of England and Wales for eight years. The family of Percy fought two pitched battles, of considerable magnitude,—Shrewsbury (1403) and Bramham Moor (1408)—against the king's forces; and it is doubtful whether Henry IV was ever completely obeyed in the North of England. In the primary work of government, justice and police, the crown was not able to secure the localities from disorder and practical anarchy. In vain was the law against "Livery and Maintenance" strengthened by new legislation. The local courts were frequently intimidated, juries were "packed" and bullied, needy gentlemen, disbanded soldiers, hardy vagabonds,

swarmed in many counties, and disorganised the ordinary life of the country-people; so that even the courtly poet ventured on a remonstrance to the crown.

> Now in good feithe I pray God it amende
> Lawe is nye flemed out of this countree,
> For fewe ben that drede it to offende,
> Correccioun and alle this is longe on thee.
> Why suffrest thow so many assemblé?
> Of arméd folke welnye in every shire,
> Party is made to venge their cruelle ire.[1]

It was not only that Henry IV could not control his noblemen, could not repress all the disappointed claimants to the throne, could not police the turbulent districts in the home counties and on the marches. Worse things happened in Englishmen's dealings abroad. The "Narrow Seas" were unsafe. English merchantmen were very frequently stopped and plundered by alien sailors. When these "pirates" stopped an English vessel, the regular procedure was for the captured crew to be bound hand and foot and flung into the sea. The English government had no means to meet the evil of piracy, except by diplomatic representations to the home governments of the "pirate" sailors, to Hamburg, to Lubeck, to Holland or France. No royal ships of England guarded the Narrow Seas. The proud claim of the English king to be "Dominus Maris Angliæ" was no longer upheld or put forward. The only warlike

[1] Hoccleve, *De Regimine Principum* (1410), quoted in Wylie, *Hist. of Eng. under Henry IV*, III, 308.

step taken to check the evil deeds of the pirates was for the king to issue a licence to the aggrieved English merchant or his survivors, to prey upon the shipping of the "pirates'" countrymen, and to plunder them of an amount of goods equivalent to what the aggrieved Englishmen had lost.

While the Narrow Seas were unsafe for English shipping, the coast itself of England was not immune from the warlike exploits of our enemies. The Isle of Wight was twice visited by Norman and Breton adventurers, and some of its villages were plundered and burnt. One expedition landed on the mainland itself, and burned the town of Plymouth. The central government could do little to meet the foreign foe; private Englishmen, the inhabitants of the threatened districts, had to organise themselves for national defence.

No wonder England was little thought of on the Continent. Burgundians and Armagnacs could fight against each other in France; the English government, anxious enough to profit by the troubles of the French, could get no advantage out of the dispute, and could show no consistent or decisive policy. One glimpse of our old fame seems to be seen for a moment when the Byzantine emperor Manuel Palæologus visited England, after visiting other European powers, to engage our efforts for a common crusade against the advancing Turk. But Henry IV, eager crusader as he was, could give no help; at the last he had to be content with a death

in the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster, in place of a nobler fate against the foes of Christianity and of Europe.

It is clear then that English power had sunk low under Henry IV. It was a hard task for him to keep the throne against more legitimate princes, and against those nobles who, having made him king, thought to rule the kingdom. "He who obtains sovereignty by the assistance of the nobles maintains himself with difficulty . . . because he finds himself with many around him who consider themselves his equal."[1] The wonder then is not that England sank low in the reign of Henry IV, but that it did not sink lower still. At the end of his reign, the country was in a more settled condition, although the possibility of revolution at the hands of the Lollards, or of the house of March was still imminent. Yet Henry IV deserves the honour accorded by the French chronicler, who says he was a valiant knight, and vigorous and subtle against his enemies.[2] After some fearful storms, and continuous rough weather, he manfully steered the ship of state till he died, and a greater pilot took the helm.

Here is one of the crises in English history, a point at which pause should be made to mark a startling contrast. The contrast lies in the difference between the reigns of the fourth and fifth Henries. In the time of the father are found weakness, disorder,

[1] Macchiavelli, *Prince*, chap. 9.
[2] Monstrelet, *La Chronique*, CI.

insecurity; at home, riots, robberies, rebellions, piracy on the sea, and ineffectiveness abroad. In the reign of the son, all is changed. England inverts the story of the Norman Conquest, English armies cross the Channel, conquer Normandy, conquer Paris, lay hands on the throne of France. The young king deals on equal terms with the powers of Europe, intervenes decisively in the General Council of the Church, helps to end the schism, helps to found the modern papacy. The king of the Germans, the heir of the Holy Roman Empire, visits England, pleads for support, gratefully receives our alliance. At home all goes well; conspiracy is strangled at the outset, religious and political rebellion is swiftly crushed, law and order are enforced throughout the country, partly by the personal intervention of the king, partly by the able officials whom he chose and trained and appointed for this purpose. The seas no longer are swept by foreign pirates. The royal navy is refounded; the laws and the organisation of the service are thoroughly set up. English merchants once more can freely ply over the sea. Thus the patriotic poet of the next reign could look with pride and pleasure to the great days of Henry V, and could exhort his son to be like his father.

> Cherysshe marchandyse, kepe thamyralté
> That we bee maysteres of the narowe see.[1]

Thus in the reign of Henry V, in ten short years, England was raised, from almost its lowest point to

[1] *Libel of English Policy*, 158. (*Political Poems, II.*)

the height of its medieval fame. This was done by a king, who came to the throne at the age of twenty-five, and gave to a jaded, disappointed nation, the ideals of peace and order at home, of adventure, government and justice abroad. He educated the whole nation, and infused it with the spirit of his own youth and energy. Like Alexander of Macedon he died young, having astonished the world. He left an empire that would crumble, but he left an ideal that could never die. He permanently raised a whole people on to another plane of life.

Henry V had definite aims, and he kept them consistently before him. It was not the mere desire for glory that led him to France, nor was it the influence of the English prelates, as Shakespeare would have it, turning the king to courses of foreign conquest as a diversion from the agitation for disendowment of the Church. Everything in Henry's life as king shows that he believed sincerely in the justice of his cause. The determination to win " his rights," and his " just inheritance," so freely mentioned in his diplomatic correspondence, was no mere figure of speech. On his death-bed he still protested his belief in the justice of his claims, " of which he had been assured by many holy men." The responsibility for the war must rest with Henry himself. He was too strong-willed to be turned one way or another by the prelates, who in any case seem to have completely sympathised with his aims.

Henry's first aim was to reassert the greatness

and strength of England, by crossing the Narrow Seas, and winning back the Duchy of Normandy and the County of Anjou, the ancient heritage of the Plantagenet family. This claim, with a corresponding one for the extension of English Guienne to its old limits, stands out in the mass of diplomatic correspondence, which took place before the French War began. In this claim for the old English dependencies, there was nothing unjust nor overstrained. Normandy was a cradle of the English race. Anjou was the home of the mighty Plantagenets, Henry's own family; Guienne had been in English hands for two hundred and fifty years, to the satisfaction of the inhabitants of the Duchy.

The claim to the French crown was on a different footing from that to Normandy and Anjou. It came from the somewhat shadowy claim of Edward III, and if as Edward asserted, the French crown could descend through the female line, then Edmund, Earl of March, had a better claim than Henry V. But Henry would feel that as he had succeeded, quite lawfully, to the English rights of Edward III, so he had succeeded also to the French rights. But it is almost certain that the determination to win the French throne grew gradually. Henry could feel that the madness of Charles VI, and the ineffectiveness of the Dauphinists invited him to take up the reins of government in the distracted land of France. If France was to be won, he might well feel justified in winning it, for the formation of the

great Christian and imperial power, of which he dreamed.

It is likely that Henry's designs grew as the success of his arms increased. He began by determining to win Normandy and Anjou; he went on to win the crown of France; when that was secured, he had the idea of making a great crusade, with the combined forces of his English and French realms. For the Turk was ever advancing up the Danube. Henry IV had fought against the infidel as a young man, and had meant as king to lead a crusade. His son, warlike, chivalrous and pious, a reader of history, an admirer of Godfrey of Bouillon,[1] aimed in more prosperous circumstances at achieving the desire of his father. In 1396 king Sigismund had been defeated at the disastrous battle of Nicopolis in Bulgaria, when the Turks had broken the forces of German Christendom. The younger Henry, a friend of the same Sigismund, might reasonably hope to repair the defeat. He had helped to heal the papal schism. He had conquered half France. When he died he seemed not far off the point at which he could take up the work of leading the greater part of western Europe with king Sigismund on crusade. There is no doubt that his last words were sincere, and express the real tragedy, the great disappointment of his life: "I

[1] See Nicolas, *Proc. of Privy Council*, III, xxv., respecting the "Chronicles of Jerusalem" and the "Voyage of Godfrey of Boulogne," borrowed by Henry V.

had intended, after settling the kingdom of France in peace, to go and conquer Jerusalem."[1]

It is unlikely that he could ever have conquered the whole of France. It is not certain that he ever meant to do so. But it was not inconceivable that English power should extend as far south as the Loire, and Henry may have meant to be content with this. A great watershed runs across France, roughly, from east to west. South of this, the rivers run towards the Mediterranean; north, the rivers run towards the English Channel; the north of France looks towards England. Racially the northern Frenchman is perhaps more akin to the English than he is to the men of southern France. So the union of north France with England was not inconceivable. Had Henry been given a few more years to complete his work, France would have been divided into three portions, and might have remained divided for some considerable space of time, but not indefinitely. In the first place, there would have been the French kingdom of Henry V—that is to say, Normandy, Maine, Anjou, and the Isle of France, to the north of the Loire, with centres at Paris and Rouen, and including Guienne in the south-west of France. The second great division would have been the realm of the "Dauphin," Charles VII,—that portion of France which stood by the line of the

[1] See above, 284. Cp. the report of Gilbert de Lannoy, respecting the ports of Egypt and Syria. This was compiled at the orders of Henry V. Stubbs, *Const. Hist.*, III. 95; *Archæologia*, XXI, 312–48, *Œuvres de G. Lannoy*. p. 51 ff. (Académie de Belgique).

Valois kings, and which probably England could never have conquered. The realm of Charles VII, as it stood at the death of Henry V, was all France south of the Loire, excluding Guienne and Burgundy. Charles' capital was at Bourges; when Henry died, Charles also held Orleans on the north bank of the Loire and some strongholds in Anjou, but these were not as secure as the rest of his domains to the south. The third great division of France, which would have resulted from the continuation of Henry V's power, was the dominions of the Duke of Burgundy, including Flanders, Artois, and the old Duchy and County of Burgundy. In addition there would have been the outlying Duchy of Brittany, dependent on the English power. The English dominion in France, the southern kingdom of Charles VII, and the dominion of Burgundy, would have established a balance of power, which might have perpetuated the rule of the English. In Burgundy would have been revived the old "Middle Kingdom," which Charles the Bold dreamed of again, forty years later. With this dazzling prospect in front of Philip of Burgundy, his secession from the English (which happened when their power began to fail in 1435), and his alliance with Charles VII, might never have taken place.

Very little is to be gained by speculating on what might have been. The only reason for doing so now, is to form a fair judgment of the abilities of Henry V.

In his great design on France, was he attempting too much? Was he overreaching himself, and allowing his great ideas to take him beyond the bounds of possibility? The answer is no. If he had lived, and had remained satisfied (he could hardly do otherwise) with a French dominion north of the Loire as above described, then the realm of Charles VII, and the "Middle Kingdom" of Burgundy, would have balanced each other. Nor would it necessarily have happened that England would have been overshadowed by her French dominion. France north of the Loire was perhaps not too much for England to manage, it was not likely to win England over to French ways or manners, not likely to transfer the centre of English power from London to Paris. Historians who take the view that England would have been sacrificed to Lancastrian France, forget that the Lancastrian power—apart from Guienne—would have stopped at the Loire.

. . . . . .

The personal qualities of Henry V as king were such as to endear him to all his subjects, and to make him a popular character in history. His most notable quality was justice. This comes out in the contemporary chronicles that deal with him, both English and French. No better tribute could be paid to him than that of the French historian, Juvenal des Ursins, who had no love for the English: "The said king in his time, at least since he came

into France, had been of a high and great courage, valiant in arms, prudent, sage, and a great Justicier, who, without exception of persons, did as good justice to little as to great persons, according to the needs of the case. He was feared and reverenced by all his relatives, subjects and neighbours."[1] In the same way the modern Frenchman carefully sifting all the evidence, comes to the conclusion that Henry was a man, "severe and hard, but one who kept his word."[2] When he gave terms to an enemy, he scrupulously kept them; when he confirmed a conquered town's liberties, he never infringed them. If he severely punished breaches of his laws on the part of the conquered French, he was equally severe in dealing with his own soldiers; on all the campaigns, in the year of Agincourt, in the conquest of Normandy, in the final marches, plundering and stealing by his soldiers were punished by death. So that although the straitened finances of the king prevented the soldiers often from getting their legitimate wages, they were not able to make this up by indiscriminate plunder. They, indeed, had some ground for complaining of the hard conditions of their service: no pay, and not to be allowed to plunder.[3]

The justice of the king, his strict keeping of his word, made his rule tolerable to the conquered

[1] J. J. des Ursins, *Hist. de Charles VI*, 395.
[2] Lavisse, *Histoire de France*, IV, 375.
[3] Ramsay, *Lancaster and York*, I, 320.

people, and gave the necessary condition for the permanence of his work. In the later stages of the French war, between 1430 and 1450, the English departed from the good rule that Henry V had laid down. They took to plundering, they alienated the whole people of Normandy, and so they quickly lost France.

Next to his sense of justice, the most conspicuous quality of Henry V is his industry. For the administration of government in England, for the organisation of his campaigns abroad, and for the settlement of his conquests, he had to rely for the most part on himself alone. While in other reigns, before and after Henry V, mention is made in all the chronicles of many notable Englishmen, in this reign few are mentioned beyond Henry V himself. It was the king himself who dealt with the Lollards; it was the king who made the great progresses throughout the country, to administer law and justice; it was the king who received French ambassadors, and who drew up the English dispatches. When war was imminent, it was the king who went from place to place, seeing to the musters of soldiers, to the building of ships, to the collection of provisions. When the war was actually going on, it was the king to whom everything was immediately referred; councils of war make little figure, the king makes plans, receives envoys, gives out unalterable decisions. When it was reported to him on the march, in 1415, towards Calais that the French blocked the way and

that the rivers seemed impassable, and when the chiefs of the army asked where should the army march now: "straight to Calais," said the king, and no one seems to have remonstrated. As he was willing to shoulder all the responsibility, his whole army was ready to follow him in serene confidence. That one man was able to conduct the affairs of England, to make the most tremendous decisions, to face the most fearful risks, and at the same time to find leisure for all the thousand and one details of army organisation, and for the establishment of a new government in a conquered country, is a marvellous thing. Meanwhile, he was training up men to succeed him. It is here that other great men have failed; Frederick the Great and Napoleon were wonderful masters both of grand designs and of detail. But everything was so centred in them, that when they died, there was no one to carry on their work. Henry V was different; like Gustavus Adolphus, though he died prematurely, he left good men, who knew the master's mind, and were already skilled in the master's methods. The general plan which he pursued in the conquest of Normandy, from 1417 to 1419, was to detach relatively large divisions from his army, and to put them under his captains as independent commands. Thus men were trained to responsibility in arms, men like Thomas de Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, Sir John Fastolf, and many others who figure

so prominently in the later "wars of the English in France." The greatest of all the satellites of the king, John, Duke of Bedford, was carefully schooled by his brother for the great work of vicegerency. John was first made administrator of England in the king's absences, then he was brought over to France in the later campaigns, to study the king's methods of war and government there. So that when his brother died, John was able to take up the great task where the king laid it down. In performance of this trust, John of Bedford developed heroic qualities, worthy of his great brother. So that when, in 1435, he died, worn out by the immense task of fighting and administration in France, and of supervising the ways of government in England, he had done something which no one afterwards succeeded in doing. He had governed justly like his brother, he had developed commerce and education, had made a real thing of the "Lancastrian experiment" in Normandy. The influence of Henry V upon John, Duke of Bedford, is clear. The same influence was directed upon his second brother, Humphrey of Gloucester, successfully in the king's lifetime. Unfortunately the death of the king left the way open to the "Good Duke's" self-will and vices.

King Henry V, in spite of his dashing spirit, had a coolness and a prudence not often found in the most typical of medieval knights. In this respect, he was greatly the superior of Edward III, whose weakness as an administrator and whose lack of forethought

for posterity are defects not compensated by his undoubted soldierly qualities. Although king Henry lived a life of extraordinary activity, he never lost sight of the future, both in regard to his own soul and to the family he was to leave behind. Thus when cut off in the flower of his age at Vincennes, he was able to meet death equably, and to leave his temporal affairs carefully disposed. His "political testament" provided for all emergencies, for the government of England, for the government of France, how to deal with the conquered Duke of Orleans, how great concessions might be made to the Duke of Burgundy. So on the king's death, his work went on, not so successfully, but without any serious break—a condition of affairs which has seldom followed on the death of a great conqueror.

The king's piety was great, and throughout his strenuous career he went always for relief to the consolations of religion. His first night as king was spent in conversation and confession with a holy man at Westminster. He was himself a patron of pious foundations, and the founder of religious colleges at Sion and Sheen.[1] Like many great soldiers, he had a sincere faith, and a strong devotional faculty; his first act on entering a conquered town was to go to the chief church, to render thanks for his successes. Monks were included with women and children, as the classes with whom his soldiers must

[1] Ramsay, *Lancaster and York*, I, 307–8, for a list of Henry's pious benefactions. Also Wylie, *Reign of Henery V*, chap. xv.

not interfere. All who broke this rule received no mercy at the king's hands. But in his attitude to religion, he was less bigoted than the men of his time. If as prince, he was present at the burning of the heretic Badby, he at least had the ashes raked away, and offered the man his life. The alien priories in England had no chance of helping their friends in France. Their revenues were put under a royal trustee during the war, and were administered at the king's orders. The Lollards, once their political power was thoroughly broken, were left for the most part unmolested, provided they rigorously kept away from political conspiracy. Indeed, the king was considered by strong Churchmen to be too lax in his treatment of heretics, and he incurred reproof for his tolerance.[1]

The French people soon discovered the piety of Henry V, and it is said that when he was campaigning in a district, the rustics used to shave their heads and wear clerical clothes, because of the respectful treatment which clerics received.[2] When the king was besieging Caen in 1417, he ordered his artillery-men to take care to spare the Church of St. Stephen, within the walls. At the siege of Meaux, when Easter came round, he relaxed his activity and gave the besieged a few days' respite,[3] just as at the siege of Rouen he provided a Christmas dinner for the

[1] Stubbs, *Constitutional Hist.*, III, 76, note 1.
[2] Walsingham, *Hist. Anglicana*, II, 322–3.
[3] "Elmham," 325.

miserable inhabitants who had been ejected from the city. Nevertheless Henry did not let his great respect for the clergy interfere with the prosecution of his plans. When the Market-place of Meaux capitulated, the Bishop of Meaux was among the captives. He was too important a man and too strongly opposed to the English to be left free. So he remained a prisoner in England, and died during the period of his captivity.[1]

The tradition left in the popular mind is that Henry was personally accessible to his subjects in general and to his soldiers. In a later age he is portrayed in the popular drama, by Dekker, as moving freely about London, well known by the merchants and apprentices, and himself familiar with them.[2] But history shows that the king had a proper conception of his own dignity, and that he had a certain aloofness, without which perhaps he could not have maintained his attitude of strict impartiality. He had no favourites, and no confidants; he hid his plans even from his intimate friends.[3]

. . . . . .

As a statesman he must be judged chiefly by his administration in France. In spite of the unfortunate

[1] *Ibid.*, 327. Cp. also the relations between Henry V and St. Vincent Ferrer, who came to the English camp before Rouen in 1418 and preached a sermon against the king. But Henry rebuked St. Vincent and converted him to believe in the justice of the English cause. Kingsford, *First English Life*, 130–2.

[2] *The Shoemaker's Holiday*, by Thomas Dekker, published in 1600.

[3] "Elmham," op. cit. (under 1417).

close of the wars of the English in France, in spite of the ruin in Henry VI's reign, the work of Henry V was a wonderful achievement. Compared with the conquests of Edward III, Henry's conquests had a marked durability. By the Treaty of Bretigny (or Calais) in 1360, Edward III gained notable accessions for England in France. But they were almost all lost (except Calais) within ten years. The conquests of Henry V endured for nearly thirty years. This is all the more wonderful when it is remembered how meagre were the resources, how few the numbers, with which the French conquests had to be defended after Henry V's death. "The wonder is not that the English were driven out of France, but that they were driven so slowly."[1] Indeed the Lancastrian dominion in France, "la France Anglaise"[2] as French historians frankly call it, would never have lasted so long, but for the good organisation which Henry V had introduced into his conquests, and the excellent condition in which he left English affairs at his death.

This condition of English power can be seen at a glance, on looking at a political map of France in 1422. The English power did not completely cover all France to the north of the Loire; strictly speaking, the English held a triangle of territory, of which the base was the north coast of France, from Calais to Avranches; the apex was at Paris. From Paris to

[1] Anatole France, *Vie de Jeanne d'Arc*, xlviii.
[2] B. Zeller, *La France Anglaise* (Paris, 1886).

Calais, on the one hand, and to Avranches, on the other, the country was in the hands of English garrisons, who held the small towns as fortresses. At either end of the triangle's base, the English power was secured by alliances, with Brittany on the west,[1] and with Burgundy-Flanders on the east. Beyond the limits of this triangle, the English held some outlying positions, especially in Anjou, which threatened the Dauphin's kingdom south of the Loire. But what chiefly threatened the "king of Bourges" was Guienne, the south-western duchy of the English kings, with its strong line of border fortresses, Dax, St. Sever, La Réole, Libourne, Blaye, Fronsac. From Guienne an English expedition might easily move north-eastwards, to co-operate with another English army operating from Paris. On his east side the Dauphin was threatened by the Duke of Burgundy, whose domains stretched down to the valley of the Rhone. Thus although the Dauphin's sphere had the advantage of being very compact, and of being on "inner lines" as against the encircling enemy, yet concentration of attack was very difficult for him, owing to the number of points from which the English might make attacks.

But it was not merely from a strategical point of view that Henry V left the English power in France favourably situated. He had taken care to organise it administratively. With regard to the kingdom of

[1] The Duke of Brittany was a very doubtful ally, but Henry V, while he lived, prevented him from going over to the French side.

France and the Duchy of Normandy, the policy of Henry V was to maintain simply the constitutions, laws and customs which had existed under the French kings, his predecessors. Thus at Paris the royal council sat as usual, the Estates-General were summoned for legislation (for instance, to enact the Treaty of Troyes), and the Parlement sat for purposes of justice. The same system was pursued in Normandy; the Duke's Council and Exchequer had their seat at Rouen, and the Estates of Normandy were summoned for legislation. The highest positions, especially military, were as a rule naturally given to Englishmen, but confiscations of property were rare, the charters of towns were confirmed, the monasteries and parochial clergy were not interfered with.[1] The highest ecclesiastical offices were not left entirely free, because for the most part the high dignitaries, unlike the more humble clergymen, refused to accept the English rule. In Paris, during the lifetime of Henry V, practically no changes were made in the system of government or of property.[2] In Normandy that part of the population (that is, the bulk of the people) which accepted king Henry's rule, was left undisturbed. The towns had their municipal privileges confirmed; the rural classes were left in their old system of land-tenure. But several thousands of

[1] Rymer, *Foedera*, IX, 672, gives the names of about 150 chaplains and curates who submitted early in 1419. See also Rymer, *Foedera*, IX, 684 ff., for confirmation of property of monasteries.

[2] See A. Longnon, *Paris sous la domination Anglaise.*

Normans preferred to leave their homes rather than accept king Henry's rule.[1]

The same care and industry which Henry V showed in his administration in England are seen also in his conquered territory. Thus one of his earliest acts was to ordain "in our Duchy of Normandy," on the advice of his Great Council, that there should be only one sort of weights and measures throughout the Duchy. Previously there were diverse systems of weights and measures, varying not merely from district to district, but from year to year![2] In the same way, on the advice of the Council at Rouen, the king ordained that the money issued and circulating in Normandy should be the same as before his conquest; that no debasement or diminution of the weight would be allowed; and that the only difference should be that in the middle of the Cross stamped on one side, the letter H. (for Henricus) should also appear.[3] Six months later, January, 1420, we find Henry issuing another beneficial ordinance, to prohibit the currency throughout the Duchy of debased and imperfect foreign moneys, which passed so frequently and so far in the Middle Ages.[4] The taxation of the Duchy, likewise on the advice of the Council at Rouen, was also imposed on the old scale, and in the same varieties as formerly.[5] Indeed the only change which Henry made in the

[1] Puiseux, *L'Emigration Normande.*
[2] Rymer, *Foedera*, IX, 691.
[3] *Ibid.*, 798.
[4] *Ibid.*, 849.
[5] *Ibid.*, 864.

system of taxation in Normandy was to reduce the amount of the gabelle, the tax upon salt.

The chief officials of course were English. Master Philip Morgan, one of the king's best diplomatists, was Chancellor of Normandy,[1] William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, was Admiral,[2] Geoffrey Alington was Treasurer.[3] But a Norman gentleman, as it seems, was appointed to the highly important, if not highly dignified office of "hunter of wolves." The name of this gentleman was Raoul de Corday, and the precise instructions given to him to organise hunts after wolves in the pastoral regions of Normandy, are another instance of the care taken by Henry for the good government of his new Duchy.[4]

Of his military greatness, which is well known, there is less necessity to speak. The victory of Agincourt permanently established his reputation as a general, and made him in his time the most famous soldier in Europe. He was great both in strategy and tactics. His plans of campaign were original and comprehensive, as may be seen both from his systematic conquest of Normandy in 1417–19, and also by his great circular march outside and round the Isle of France, in the last year of his life. Apart from his general plans of campaign, he was also excellent on the field of battle, arranging his small forces with great success, and being especially distinguished from most leaders of the Middle Ages by the skill

[1] *Ibid.*, 632. [2] *Ibid.*, 753. [3] *Ibid.*, 865.

[4] *Ibid.*, 862. Cp. *ibid.*, 755 for the office of wolf-hunter round Caux.

with which he used the physical features of the ground where his army had to fight. In siege-works he may be said to stand first among so many English kings who, like Richard I and Edward III, were famous for their sieges. The war in France after Agincourt was peculiarly a war of sieges. King Henry was ready enough for battles which are a quicker way of deciding matters than sieges, but the French would never meet him again in the open field.[1] Thus the years 1417–22 were largely a succession of sieges. In such undertakings, warfare in the Middle Ages reached its highest development. But even here Henry found new things to invent, new developments to make. Towers, mines, bridges, all were material for the exercise of his ingenuity. So strong was his interest in the art of siege-work, that he carried out experiments even when the need of them seemed gone. For the siege of Meaux in 1421–2, he invented a floating tower, which was to drift down the Marne past the walls of the fortified Market-place. Projecting from the top of this floating tower was a gangway, by which a party of the besieging soldiers could pass on to the river-wall of the Market-place. But the garrison surrendered before this new kind of siege-engine could be used. Henry, however, was not to be deterred from completing an invention. After the English army had taken possession of the Market-place, he had the tower completed, floated

[1] e.g. The Dauphin refused to meet Henry, whose army, numerically, seems to have been much the weaker, before Chartres in 1421.

down the river, and the possibility proved of the soldiers inside forcing their way on to the walls.[1] For such a captain as Henry, sieges might be long, but they were never unsuccessful. For with his brilliant resourcefulness he combined an unswerving determination and tenacity. It was said of him that he never left a siege unfinished, and that all the garrisons came to realise this, and so anticipated forcible capture by capitulation.[2]

All his fortune and success in battle were possible only through his intense personal application and energy. As the military, judicial and administrative head of his kingdom, he had everything to think of at the same time. His contemporaries noted with admiration how the king's orderly mind grasped everything, and provided for all emergencies, both great and small. In the quaint words of his clerical biographer, the king was endowed with "a royal providence, to which nothing ever seemed difficult."[3] When in autumn 1419, Henry from Mantes as a centre was sending out columns in every direction and was conducting several sieges at once, he yet found time not merely to organise the siege-parties from Mantes, but himself to visit the various scenes of action nearly every day, riding over the surrounding country from fort to fort, with only a few men accompanying him.[4] No wonder that, as his admiring enemy says, "he was held to be sage and valiant in arms."[5] For he both directed the fighting, and

[1] "Elmham," op. cit., 323.
[2] *Ibid.*, 275.
[3] *Ibid.*, 182.
[4] *Ibid.*, 240.
[5] J. J. des Ursins, *Hist. de Charles VI*, 378.

himself took active part in it. He encouraged his men by his spirited words, but he encouraged them more by his example.[1] At the siege of Melun, he personally went down into the dark and stifling mines, and fought in them single-handed.[2] After the surrender of the city, the Captain Barbazan was in danger of losing his life, through being considered an accomplice in the murder of Duke John of Burgundy. But he appealed for mercy to the king as a "brother-in-arms," although an enemy, and the just king allowed the plea, for he had fought hand to hand with Barbazan in the mines.[3]

It is no wonder that such a leader was worshipped by his men. For he shirked nothing himself, and his judgment seemed infallible. He was thoughtful for them in every way, and they felt that whatever he asked them to do, could be accomplished. There was never, says his biographer, a murmur in the army, at his decrees and regulations.[4] Yet he would admit no deviation from those regulations, and transgression was met with a swift and inflexible penalty. For stealing, under which was included plunder in a conquered district, the penalty was hanging.[5] The soldier who in a skirmish ran away and left his outnumbered comrades to die, was buried alive.[6] It was not merely the common soldiers who were treated severely. When at the siege of Melun it was discovered that some English and Burgundian

[1] "Elmham," op. cit., 275. [2] *Ibid.*, 286.
[3] Kingsford, *First English Life*, 168; Holinshed, *Chronicles*, 577.
[4] "Elmham," op. cit., 249.
[5] *Ibid.*, 318–19. [6] J. J. des Ursins, op. cit., 387.

gentlemen had connived (for money, as it seems) at the escape of some of the garrison, king Henry, although the guilty men were his friends, had them executed.[1] King Henry's justice was influenced neither by sentiment nor social feeling. The Bastard of Vaurus, one of the commanders in Meaux, had hanged many poor French labourers. Henry had him hanged on the "Vaurus elm." The king was much criticised for giving a nobleman so severe a penalty and so disgraceful a death, but the French chronicler clearly thinks the judgment was right.[2]

"Hard cases make bad law," but king Henry would never allow any. His rule was simple and never varied. Thus his men knew exactly what to expect, and could shape their conduct accordingly. They liked the vigorous, active young king, who lived among them and bore all their burdens. He was temperate himself, and he enforced temperance on his soldiers. At Troyes, in 1420, he would only allow watered wine to be drunk in his army ;[3] on the march to Agincourt when his soldiers, who had drunk the wine at a captured castle, asked leave to take away the rest in bottles, he forbade them, with the contemptuous remark, that they had already made bottles of their bellies. It was by his extraordinary union of all the qualities necessary for a leader, his skill in campaigns and battles, his power of detailed organisation, his just and equal treatment of every-

[1] "Elmham," op. cit., 286 ; Monstrelet, *La Chronique*, 297.
[2] J. J. des Ursins, op. cit., 387.
[3] "Elmham," op. cit., 251.

body, that he was able to keep his army for four years in the field, without moral deterioration, and "without a murmur."[1]

Modern writers have seen in king Henry the originator of some of the greatest forces of to-day; in him is seen, "the restorer of the English navy, the founder of our military, international and maritime law."[2] These aspects of this many-sided ruler are summed up in the great code of regulations, issued by him in the middle of the conquest of Normandy, at Mantes, in July, 1419.[3] The rules are short, strictly to the point, and form an excellent specimen of the "king's English."[4] "Thiez ben statutes and ordinancez made by the right noble prince, king Henry the Fifte, at the treaty and counseil of Mawnt." The rules show the care of the king for religious people, for women and children, for merchants, for labourers: "Also that no maner of man be so hardy to rob ne to pille holy Church of no good, ne ornament, that longeth to the Churche, ne to sle no man of holy Church, religious, ne none other, but if he be armed, upon peyne of deth. . . . Also that no man be so hardy to pile ne robbe none other of vitaill, ne of none other lyvelode, the which they have by bying, upon peyn of deth." This last regulation is headed "For robbyng of marchauntes comying to the market." Prisoners were not to be made of youths under fourteen years: "Also that

[1] "Elmham," 249. [2] Stubbs, *Constitutional Hist.*, III, 77.
[3] *Black Book of the Admiralty*, I, 459.
[4] For the "King's English," see Ramsay, *Lancaster and York*, I, 309.

noman be so hardy to take no children within the age of XIIII yeres, but if he be a lordes son, or elles a worshipfull gentilmans son or a captain. . . . Also that nomaner man be so hardy to go in to no chambre, or loggyng, where that eny woman lythe in child-birth, her to robbe ne pile of no goodes, the which longeth unto her refresshyng, ne for to make none affray, where thorough she and her childe might be in in eny disease, or dispeyr. . . . Also that nomaner man be so hardy to take fro noman gaying to the plough, harrowe, or carte, hors, mare, nor oxe, nor none other beste longyng to labour within the Kynge's obeissaunce . . . and also that noman gyve none impediment unto nomaner of labour. . . ." Thus plundering was forbidden and so was burning: "withoutyn commaundement speciall of the Kyng that noman brenne uppon peyn of deth." It is no wonder then that French people sometimes preferred the loins of king Henry to the little finger of their own national government: merchants and others who had been made prisoners at different times by king Henry, the Burgundians, and the Armagnacs, affirmed that the Burgundians had treated them better than the Armagnacs, and the English had treated them better than both.[1] King Henry was noted for his humane rules of war, yet when severity was necessary he would not give way to the useless humanity which only prolongs war. In December, 1420, when he had conquered

[1] *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris*, 649.

the North of France, except a few fortresses, the hostile garrison of Meaux threatened to burn the neighbouring region, if king Henry made any attempt against them. But the king merely replied, that " he would besiege and capture the town. As to fire, it was the usage of war, and that war without fire was no more worth than sausages without mustard."[1]

. . . . . .

Henry's most permanent gift to England is the sentiment of patriotism. Under the influence of this feeling a man looks upon his native country as peculiarly his own, and upon the rest of the nation as being, in a sense, part of himself. But the devotion to " country " seems to predominate, and men who are rejected by their own people, and who look upon them with disgust, may yet think with affection of their country and for it sacrifice their lives. The native country of a man is an ideal, for which he may live and die.

In ancient days this love of country existed among the Romans of the early Republic, and perhaps in some of the states of Greece. But patriotism was lost in the great cosmopolitan Roman Empire, and even in the early Middle Ages it was hardly known. After the death of Charlemagne, the boundaries of states were ill-defined, there was little continuity in governments. Feudalism had a cosmopolitan element, and a man belonged to his class, his ties were to his overlord, his affection was for his family and his castle.

[1] J. J. des Ursins, op. cit., 384.

Only gradually were national states formed. France, which was a mass of diverse fiefs and peoples, grew to a feeling of unity, under the pressure of the Hundred Years' War, and in the development of royal absolutism. England under the Anglo-Saxons was not a nation, no army of all England stood against William the Conqueror at Hastings. The result of the Norman Conquest was to impose an alien aristocracy, of a superior type, on the Anglo-Saxons. The Norman kings were succeeded by Angevins, and gradually the Norman nobles lost their distinct racial characters, and an English type and an English speech emerged. But although the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in England saw great kings and great statesmen, men who did much for England and for the people as a whole, yet there was little sentiment for England as an ideal by herself. Feudalism was still cosmopolitan, and the barons who championed the cause of the nation against king John, were nevertheless ready to invite a foreign prince, Louis, into England. The wars of Edward III against France helped the development of the sentiment for England, but the "bastard feudalism" of which he was so fond checked the growth. But Henry V was the son of an English father, and—what was rare in our kings—of an English mother. He pacified and united the whole of England, he put to sleep the factions of the nobles, and he led a force drawn practically exclusively from England, against the ancient foe. Englishmen found their

type of national hero in him, and through his life and achievements, there grew up a feeling for England as an ideal in men's hearts and minds, which is the sentiment of patriotism.

The beautiful words which Shakespeare has put into the mouth of John of Gaunt express for ever the highest kind of patriotic affection. It required Shakespeare and the Elizabethan age to give the appropriate expression. The feelings expressed could hardly have been felt by an Englishman of Richard II's reign. But the words would stand well for the feelings in the age of Henry V, a period which the Elizabethans always regarded as the golden age of England :

> This royal throne of kings, this scepter'd isle,
> This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars,
> This other Eden, demi-paradise ;
> This fortress built by Nature for herself,
> Against infection and the hand of war ;
> This happy breed of men, this little world,
> This precious stone set in the silver sea,
> Which serves it in the office of a wall,
> Or as a moat defensive to a house,
> Against the envy of less happier lands ;
> This blessed plot, this realm, this earth, this England...
> . . . . . .
> This land of such dear souls, this dear, dear land. . . .
> . . . . . .
> England, bound in with the triumphant sea. . . .[1]

The patriotic poems of the fifteenth century move with no such stately measure as this, they express their feeling in a ruder way, but with equal sincerity.

[1] *Richard II*, Act II, Scene 1.

Owre kynge went forth to Normandy,
With grace and might of chivalry;
The God for him wrouzt marvelously,
Wherefore Englonde may calle, and cry
Deo Gratias.
Deo gratias, Anglia redde pro victoria.
. . . . .
Now gracious God he save owre kynge,
His people, and all his wel wyllynge,
Gef him gode lyve, and gode endynge,
That we with merth mowe savely synge,
Deo Gratias.
Deo Gratias, Anglia redde pro victoria.[1]

A patriotic poet in 1436 bewailed the loss of English maritime power, and of the greatness of England, which the fifth Henry had so cared for:

Shalle any prynce, what so be hys name,
Wheche hathe nobles moche lyche oures,
Be lorde of see, and Fflemmynghis to oure blame,
Stoppe us, take us, and so make fade the floures
Of Englysshe state, and disteyne oure honnoures?[2]

King Henry, the poet asserted, would never have allowed England to be so depressed:

And yf I shulde conclude al by the kynge,
Henry the fifte what was hys purposynge,
Whan at Hampton he made the grete dromons,
Which passed other grete shippes of alle the comons,
The Trinité, the Grace-Dieu, the Holy-Goste
And other moo whiche as now be loste,
What hope ye was the kynges grette entente
Of the shippes, and what in mynde he mente?
It was not ellis but that he caste to be
Lorde rounde aboute enviroun of the see.[3]

[1] Percy's *Reliques*, V, "for the victory at Agincourt."
[2] "Libel of English Policy," in *Political Poems* (Rolls Series), II, 159. Fflemmynghis is Flanders.
[3] *Ibid.*, 199.

With this parting message for the keeping of the sea we may take leave of the great king.

> To speke of hym I stony in my witte.
> Thus here I leve the kynge wyth his nobelesse
> . . . . .
> No better was prince of strenuité![1]

In Henry V, in the beautiful words of Bishop Stubbs, "the dying energies of medieval life kindle for a short moment into flame."[2] Courage, determination, judgment, industry, even in the smallest details; these were his chief qualities. His life shows the importance of personality in the history of human affairs. In the fifteenth century the era of great movements had passed. King Henry when he began to do his work, had only to depend on a disappointed, disillusioned people. Single-handed, he led them along the path of greatness; he made them forget their private ills, and think instead of England. His moral influence survived, when his empire had gone to ruin. In the long line of able English kings since Alfred, he alone inspired at once the admiration and affection of his people.

[1] *Ibid.*, 200. [2] Stubbs, *Constitutional Hist.*, III, 96.

I

ITINERARY OF HENRY V

NOTE.—*The Patent, Close, Fine Rolls and the Wardrobe and Household Accounts* (*bundle* 406) *of the reign furnish the greater part of the Itinerary. Other sources are referred to in footnotes.*

1413. *Mar.* 21 to *April* 1, Westminster; 2–5, Sutton; 6, Kingston; 7, The Tower of London; 8, 9, Westminster; 10–13, Westminster, Sutton; 14, Uxbridge; 15, Langley; 16 to *May* 13, Westminster; 14–27, Kennington; 28 to *June* 11, Westminster; 12, Westminster, Kennington; 13, Dartford; 14, Rochester; 15, Ospringe; 16–18, Canterbury; 19, Canterbury, Sittingbourne; 20, Rochester; 21–25, Kennington; 26 to *July* 2, Sutton; 3, Sutton, Dartford; 4, Park of Windsor; 5, Park of Windsor, Ospringe; 6, 7, Canterbury; 8, Canterbury, Faversham; 9, Faversham; 10, Faversham, Rochester; 11, Rochester, Dartford; 12, Dartford, Westminster; 13–19, Westminster; 20–21, Park of Windsor, Kingston; 22 to *Aug.* 1, Park of Windsor; 2, Park of Windsor, Henley; 3–13, Henley; 14, Henley, Windsor; 15–29, Park of Windsor; 30, Park of Windsor, Selborne; 31, Selborne; *Sept.* 1 to 18, Park of Windsor; 19, Park of Windsor, Guildford; 20 to *Oct.* 8, Guildford; 9, Chertsey; 10–31, Merton; *Nov.* 1 to *Dec.* 28, Westminster.

1414. *Jan.* 1 to 25, Westminster; 26, Westminster, St. Albans; 27–30, *Feb.* 1 to 19, Westminster; 27, *Mar.* 2, 7, 16,[1] Kenilworth; *April* 2, Tewkesbury;[2] 23, 24, 26, 28, 30, *May* 1 to 30, Leicester; 31, Leicester, Market Harborough;[3] *June* 3, 4, Leicester;[4] 8, Burton-on-Trent;[5] 26, Winchester; *July* 5, Blythe;[6] 10, Peterborough;[7] 16, Hertford Castle;

[1] *Chan. Warrants*, file 1364. [2] Treaty R. 97, m. 26.
[3] *Ibid.*, m. 25.
[4] *Chan. Warrants*, file 1364; Treaty R. 97, m. 22.
[5] *Chan. Warrants*, file 1364. [6] Treaty R. 97, m. 17.
[7] *Chan. Warrants*, file 1364.

17, Westminster; 18, Westminster, St. Neots [1]?; 20 to *Sept.* 13, Westminster; 14, Sutton [2]?, Westminster; 15 to *Oct.* 26, Westminster; 27, Hertford Castle; 28 to *Dec.* 30, Westminster.

1415. *Jan.* 1 to *June* 15, Westminster; 16 to *July* 2, Winchester; 3, Winchester, Southampton;[3] 4, Winchester; 5, Winchester, Porchester Castle; 6,[4] 7, Winchester; 17, Waltham; 20, Southampton; 21, Waltham; 22, Waltham, Southampton; 23, Waltham; 24–27, Southampton;[5] 28, Waltham, Southampton;[6] 29, Waltham, Southampton,[7] Porchester; 31, Southampton; *Aug.* 1 to 6, Southampton;[8] 7, Southampton, Porchester Castle; 8, Porchester, Waltham, Southampton; 9, Waltham, Porchester; 10, Waltham;[9] 11, sailed from Portsmouth; 14, reached Harfleur; 15 to *Oct.* 8, Harfleur; 11, Arques; 12, Eu; 14, Blanchetaque; 21, Peronne; 25, Agincourt; 29 to *Nov.* 16, Calais; 16, 17, Dover; 18, Canterbury; 20, Sittingbourne;[10] 22, Eltham; 23 to *Dec.* 31, Westminster.

1416. *Jan.* 1 to *June* 23, Westminster; 24 to *July* 12, Titchfield;[11] 14, Winchester; 18–26,[12] Southampton; 29, Guildford;[13] 30, Westminster; 31, Rotherhithe;[14] *Aug.* 1 to 4, Westminster; 5, Eltham; 6, Southampton; 7–14, Westminster; 15, Canterbury;[15] 16–18, Westminster; 20–28,[16] Canterbury; 29, 31,[17] Dover; *Sept.* 1 to 4, Sandwich; 6 to *Oct.* 14, Calais;[18] 19 to *Dec.* 11, Westminster; 12–13, Mortlake; 14–24, Westminster; 27–31,[19] Kenilworth Castle.

1417. *Jan.* 1 to 25, Kenilworth Castle;[20] 28 to *Mar.* 19, Westminster; 20, Mortlake; 21, Westminster; 22, Westminster, Mortlake; 23 to *April* 12, Westminster; 13–23, Windsor Castle;[21] *May* 1, Waltham;[22] 5–15, Reading;[23] 30, Salisbury; *June* 1, Waltham, Salisbury;[24] 2–4, Salisbury;[25] 5, Beaulieu, Waltham; 7, Titchfield,[26] Waltham; 8, Titchfield,[27] Southampton; 10, Titchfield,[28] Waltham; 11, Titchfield;

[1] *Ibid.* [2] *Ibid.* [3] Treaty R. 98, m. 7.
[4] *Ibid.*, m. 13. [5] Treaty R. 98, m. 12, 14.
[6] *Ibid.*, m. 12. [7] *Ibid.* [8] *Ibid.*, m. 8. *Ibid.*, m. 10, 12.
[9] *Ibid.*, m. 10. [10] Treaty R. 98, m. 6.
[11] *Chan. Warrants*, file 1364; Treaty R. 99, m. 20.
[12] *Ibid.* [13] *Chan. Warrants*, file 1364. [14] *Ibid.*
[15] Treaty R. 99, m. 17. [16] *Ibid.*, m. 19. [17] *Ibid.*
[18] *Ibid.*, m. 14, 15, 16, 17, 21, 26.
[19] *Chan. Warrants*, file 1364. [20] *Chan. Warrants*, file 1364.
[21] Treaty R. 100, m. 21, 24. [22] *Ibid.*, m. 16.
[23] *Ibid.*, m. 19, 20, 22. [24] *Ibid.*, m. 15. [25] *Ibid.*
[26] *Ibid.* [27] *Ibid.* [28] *Ibid*, m. 16.

13, Waltham;[1] 14–15, Titchfield,[2] Waltham; 16, Waltham;[3] 18, Waltham,[4] Southampton; 20, Waltham, Southampton;[5] 21–23, Southampton;[6] 24, Titchfield,[7] Waltham; 26, Waltham;[8] 27–29, Titchfield;[9] 30, Southampton; *July* 1, Southampton, Titchfield,[10] Porchester; 3, 4, Waltham, Titchfield;[11] 6, 7, Southampton;[12] 8, Southampton,[13] Titchfield,[13] Waltham; 9, Southampton;[14] 10–12,[15] Waltham, Southampton; 13, 14,[16] Southampton; 15, Southampton,[17] Waltham; 16, Southampton;[18] 17, Southampton, Titchfield, Waltham; 18, Porchester; Titchfield,[19] Southampton, Waltham; 20–22, Porchester, Waltham;[20] 23, Porchester,[20] Wickham,[21] Waltham; 24, Titchfield,[22] Porchester,[22] Portsmouth, Wickham, Waltham; 25, Porchester, Waltham; 26, Southampton;[23] 27, Porchester; *Aug.* 1 to 10,[24] Touques; 20 to *Sept.* 19, the Abbey of St. Stephen of Caen; 22 to *Oct.* 1, the Castle of Caen; 2, 3, the Castle of Caen or the Abbey of the Blessed Mary of the town of St. Peter above la Dive (supra Divam); 4, Truyn; 7, 8, the army near Argentan; 10–13, the Castle of Argentan; 16–24, with the army near Alençon; 27 to *Nov.* 24, the Castle of Alençon; *Dec.* 1 to 31, with the army near Falaise.

1418. *Jan.* 1 to 31, Falaise; *Feb.* 1 to 20, Falaise or the Castle of Falaise; 22 to *Mar.* 3, Castle of Caen; 5, *April* 19,[25] City of Bayeux; 20 to *May* 27, Caen; 27–31, Lisieux; *June* 1, 2, Bernay; 4, 5, 6, Abbey of Bec Hellouin; 6, 7, Neufbourg; 8–26, the camp before Louviers; 28 to *July* 27, before Pont de l'Arche; 31 to *Dec.* 31, before Rouen.

1419. *Jan.* 1 to 28, before Rouen; 29 to *Mar.* 24, Rouen Castle or before Rouen; 25 to *April* 5, Evreux; 5 to *May* 26, Vernon sur Seine; 26 to *Aug.* 5, Mantes; 6–18, Pontoise; 21 to *Sept.* 3, Rouen; 3–18, army before Trie le Chastel or Rouen; 19 to *Oct.* 7, Gisors; 8, to *Nov.* 23, Mantes; 24 to *Dec.* 15, Vernon or Rouen; 15–31, Rouen.

[1] *Ibid.*, m. 18. [2] *Ibid.*, m. 14. [3] *Ibid.*, m. 7. [4] *Ibid.*, m. 16.
[5] *Ibid.*, m. 15. [6] *Ibid.* [7] *Ibid.* [8] *Ibid.*, m. 18.
[9] *Ibid.*, m. 15, 14, 17. [10] *Ibid.*, m. 15. [11] *Ibid.*, m. 18, 14.
[12] *Ibid.*, m. 15, 14. [13] Treaty R. 100, m. 13. [14] *Ibid.*, m. 15.
[15] *Ibid.*, m. 14, 8. [16] *Ibid.*, m. 16. [17] *Ibid.*, m. 14. [18] *Ibid.*
[19] *Ibid.*, m. 16. [20] *Ibid.*, 13, 15, 16, 17. [21] *Ibid.*, 16, 14.
[22] *Ibid.*, 18, 13. [23] *Ibid.*, m. 6.

[24] From 1 Aug., 1417, to 3 Mar., 1418, see *Rotuli Normanniae* (Rec. Corn.), I, pp. 145–385.

[25] From 5 Mar., 1418, to 31 Dec., 1420, except where otherwise referenced, see Cal. of Norman Rolls, Henry V, in *Dep. Keeper's forty-first Rep.*, App. I, 679–810, and *Ibid.*, forty-second Rep., App., pp. 313–410.

1420. *Jan.* 1 to *April* 23 (?), Rouen; 23 (?)–26, Mantes; 28, 29, *May* 1, 6, 8, Pontoise; 21, 25, 26, Troyes; *June* 7, 8, Villeneuve le Roy; 16, Bray; 24, 25, 28, to *July* 3, 5, 7, Montereau; 9–29, Melun or Corbeil; *Aug.* 1 to *Dec.* 31, Paris or Melun.

1421. *Jan.* 8, Calais; 8 to *Feb.* 1,[1] Dover; 5 to *Mar.* 5, Westminster; 7, Weobley; 11, Shrewsbury;[2] 15, Coventry; 24–27, Leicester; *April* 1 to 7, York; 8, York, Howden; 9, Beverley; 11, Howden; 15, Lincoln, Newark; 18[3] to *May* 8, Westminster; 9, Westminster, Lambeth; 10–31, Westminster; *June* 1 to 6, Canterbury; 6–10, Dover; 10, Calais; *July* 4,[4] Paris; 8–20, Mantes; 24 to *Aug.* 18, with the army near Dreux; 18–22, the army near Dreux or Morouval near Dreux; 22–24, Evreux; 24–27, Morouval near Dreux; 29, near Chartres; *Sept.* 4, Morouval near Dreux; 18, Nemours; 28, Joigny; *Oct.* 13, Lagny sur Marne; during *Nov.*,[5] *Dec.*, near Meaux.

1422. *Jan.* 14, 16, near Meaux; 22, Vernon; 27, Paris; throughout *Feb.*, near Meaux; 8, 15, 18, St. Pharon near Meaux; throughout *Mar.* near Meaux; 11, Caudebec; 11, Harfleur; 15, Fécamp; throughout *April* before Meaux; 7, 8, 26, Paris; *May* 7, 9, Meaux; 26, Paris; *June* 1 to 16, Paris; 21, Senlis; 23, Paris; 26, Compiègne; 29, Senlis; *July* 3, 4, before Senlis; 25, to *Aug.* 6, Corbeil; *Aug.* 28, 30, 31, Bois de Vincennes.

[1] *Pat. R.*, 8, Hen. V, p, 1.
[2] *Chan. Warrants*, file 1365.
[3] Treaty R. 104, m. 18.
[4] From 4 July, 1421, to 31 Aug., 1422, see Cal. of Norman Rolls, Henry V, in *Dep. Keeper's forty-second Rep.*, App., pp. 410–452.
[5] 9, 14 Nov., at Ruthille near Meaux, *Chan. Warrants*, file 1365.

II

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A complete and critical guide to the sources for the period will be found in *English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century*, by C. L. Kingsford (Oxford, 1913).

Printed Records

Calendar of the Patent Rolls, 1399–1422, prepared under the superintendence of the Deputy-Keeper of the Public Records. (London, 1903 and the following years.) Full of important details regarding grants of land, pensions, appointments, relations of the Crown towards religious bodies.

Rymer, *Foedera*, Vols. IX, X. (London, 1709, 1710.) Indispensable for diplomatic and foreign affairs.

Rolls of Parliament, Vols. III, IV.

Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England, edited by N. H. Nicolas (1834), Vols. I, II.

Calendar of the Norman Rolls. Appendix to the 41st and 42nd Reports of the Deputy Keeper. (London, 1880–1881.) Most important for the lists of gentlemen and religious houses, to whom Henry V gave letters of confirmation when he conquered Normandy.

Calendar of the French Rolls. Reports from Commissioners, Vol. XXI, pp. 542–638 (1883). Chiefly appointments made by Henry V in France outside Normandy.

Munimenta Academica. Rolls Series 50. Edited by H. Anstey (1868). Documents illustrative of the history of the University of Oxford during the period.

Pageant of the Birth, Life, and Death of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, K.G., 1389–1439. Edited by Viscount Dillon and W. H. St. John Hope. (London, 1914.) Valuable reproductions of fifteenth-century drawings.

The Black Book of the Admiralty. Rolls Series 55. Edited by T. Twiss. (London, 1871.)

Paris pendant la domination Anglaise (1420–1436). Edited by A. Longnon. (Paris, 1878.) Only a very few of these documents refer to the reign of Henry V.

H. Ellis, *Original Letters illustrative of English History* (1825).

Chronicles

Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana.* Rolls Series. Edited by H. T. Riley. Vol. II. (London, 1864), and *Ypodigma Neustriae.* Edited by H. T. Riley. (London, 1876.)

Memorials of Henry the Fifth. Rolls Series. Edited by C. A. Cole. (London, 1858.) Comprises—(1) Vita Henrici Quinti, by R. Redmayne (a sixteenth-century life); (2) Versus Rhythmici in laudem Henrici Quinti (by a Benedictine monk of Westminster); (3) Liber Metricus de Henrico Quinto (by Thomas of Elmham, a chaplain of Henry V).

Gesta Henrici Quinti. English Historical Society. Edited by B. Williams (1830). This most valuable work is now held to be by Henry V's chaplain, Thomas of Elmham. In the same volume is printed the useful *Chronique de Normandie.*

Titus Livius Forojuliensis, *Vita Henrici Quinti.* Edited by T. Hearne (1716). An Italian from Forli, near Ferrara, entered the household of Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, and wrote the life of Henry V some time after the year 1437.

"T. Elmham," *Vita et Gesta Henrici Quinti.* Edited by T. Hearne (1727). This book is not really by Elmham, although Hearne imputed it to him. It is probably by a foreigner, and seems to have been written about the year 1445.

J. Capgrave, *Liber de Illustribus Henricis*. Rolls Series. Edited by F. C. Hingeston (1858).

Adam of Usk, *Chronicon*. Edited by Sir E. M. Thompson. (London, 1904.)

Political Poems and Songs. Rolls Series. Edited by T. Wright. Vol. II. (London, 1861.) This is, of course, not a chronicle, but contains much valuable contemporary matter.

An English Chronicle, 1377–1461. Camden Society. Edited by J. S. Davies (1856).

John Page, *The Siege of Rouen*. Historical collections of a citizen of London. Camden Society. (London, 1876.) This interesting poem was written by an Englishman who was present at the siege.

John Hardyng, *Chronicle*. Edited by H. Ellis (1812). Valuable rhyming chronicle.

A Chronicle of London, 1089–1483. Edited by N. H. Nicolas (1827).

Waurin, *Receuil des croniques et anchiennes istories de la Grant Bretaigne à present nomme Engleterre*. Vol. 1399–1422. Rolls Series. Edited by W. Hardy and E. L. C. P. Hardy. (London, 1868.) The same, translated by Hardy. (London, 1887.) A native of Flanders, present in the French army at Agincourt. Owes much to Monstrelet's chronicle.

Enguerrand de Monstrelet, *La Chronique*. Edited for the Société de l'Histoire de France by Douët d'Arcq (1857). Also edited by Sauvage (1572).

Georges Chastellain, *Oeuvres*. Edited by Kervyn de Lettenhove. (Brussels, 1863.)

J. J. des Ursins, *Histoire de Charles VI*. Edited by Godefroy (1653). Another edition by Michaud et Poujoulat, Nouvelle collection de Memoires rélatif à l'histoire de France, tome II.

Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys. Vols. III to VI. In Collections de Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire de France (1844); des Ursins used this important work for the first twenty years of his history.

Chronique de Jean le Févre, Seigneur de Saint-Remy. Edited by F. Morand, in Société de l'Histoire de France, 2 vols. (1876). A Frenchman present in Henry V's army at Agincourt. (Battle, Vol. I, pp. 240–259.)

Un Journal de Paris. In Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de France et de Bourgogne. (Paris, 1729.)

Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris, in Michaud et Poujoulat, Nouv. coll. de Memoires, tome II. Very valuable concerning the economic condition of the Isle of France.

Memoires de Pierre de Fenin. Edited by Mlle. Dupont in Société de l'Histoire de France (1837).

Guillaume Gruel, *Chronique d'Arthur de Richemont, Connétable de France, Duc de Bretagne.* Edited by A. le Vavasseur. (Soc. de l'Hist. de France, 1890.) Taken prisoner at Agincourt (p. 18). Adopted the Burgundian side on release (p. 25).

Note.—The contemporary narrative of John Strecche, a canon in the Augustinian priory at Kenilworth, is in the British Museum Add. MSS. 35295. It is in Latin.

Later Works

The First English Life of King Henry the Fifth. Written in 1513 by an anonymous author. Edited by C. L. Kingsford. (Oxford, 1911.) A most important work, based partly on Livius, partly the work of the 4th Earl of Ormonde (1392–1452). The Introduction, by Mr. Kingsford, is an extremely valuable contribution to the critical history of Henry V.

R. Fabyan, *The New Chronicle of England.* Edited by H. Ellis (1811). Fabyan wrote in the reign of Henry VII.

E. Hall, *Chronicle.* Edited by H. Ellis (1812). Hall wrote under Henry VIII.

J. Stow, *Annales.* With continuation by E. Howes. (London, 1631.) The first edition was 1565.

R. Holinshed, *Chronicles* (1586). The first edition of the work was in 1578.

Modern Works

T. Goodwin, *The History of the Reign of Henry the Fifth.* (London, 1704.) Valuable because of its copious references to chronicles and State papers.

J. E. Tyler, *Henry of Monmouth.* (London, 1838.) Contains useful material, especially on the early life of Henry V.

N. H. Nicolas, *History of the Battle of Agincourt.* 2nd edition (1832). This valuable work contains, among other material, the roll of the men-at-arms in Henry V's army.

Same author, *History of the Royal Navy* (1847).

L. Puiseux, *Prise de Caen.* (Caen, 1858.) *L'émigration normande et la colonisation anglaise en Normandie au* 15 *Siècle* (1866). These volumes contain valuable pièces justificatives.

G. Du Fresne de Beaucourt, *Histoire de Charles VII.* (Paris, 1885.) A complete account of the period, in great detail, fully referenced.

Sir J. H. Ramsay, Bart., *Lancaster and York.* (Oxford, 1892.) A critical and fully referenced history.

E. Lavisse, *Histoire de France*, tome IV. (Paris, 1902.)

J. Aschbach, *Geschichte Kaiser Sigmunds.* (Hamburg, 1838.)

M. Lenz, *König Sigismund und Heinrich der Fünfte von England.* (Berlin, 1874.) Valuable both as regards German and English sources. It brings out the closeness of Henry's alliance with Sigismund.

C. L. Kingsford, *Henry V.* (New York and London, 1901.)

A. J. Church, *Henry the Fifth* (1889).

J. H. Wylie, *History of England under Henry IV* (1884). Same author, *The Reign of Henry the Fifth* (1913). Both these works contain an abundance of material and have

exhaustive footnotes. The last work unfortunately only covers the period 1413–1415.

C. Oman, *Political History of England* (1906).

Dictionary of National Biography (1885). Vol. XXVI. Article Henry V, by C. L. Kingsford.

F. Solly-Flood, *The Story of Prince Henry and Judge Gascoigne.* Transactions of the Royal Historical Society. New Series III, 49 ff.

INDEX

Abbeville, 140, 176, 285
Aberystwyth, castle, 14, 29, 31–3
Admiralty, Black Book of the, 326
Agenais, 113
Agincourt, 150–1, 322; battle of, 150–60, 179, 187, 191, 309, 313, 327–9
Albertis, Laurentius de, 124
Alençon, 202, 218, 323
Alençon, duke of, 157–8
Alien priories, 104–5, 303
Alington, Geoffrey, 309
Alost, county of, 187
Amienois, 230
Amiens, 176, 249
Anagni, 169
Anglesea, 22
Angoumois, 113
Anjou, 111–12, 115, 196, 217, 238, 256, 293, 295–6, 306
Anstey, H., 325
Aquitaine, 55, 111–15, 179, 221
Archers, 118–19, 143, 152–6
Arcq, Douët d', 327
Argentan, 202, 323
Armagnac, count of, Bernard VII, French constable, 45, 109, 174–5, 179–81, 185, 204
Armagnacs. *See* Burgundians and Armagnacs
Army, artillery, 129, 199; mobilisation of 1414, 116–24; Norman expedition, 1417, 192–3; numbers and condition before Agincourt, 136–7, 152–3
Arques, 139–40, 322
Array, commissions of, 117
Artillery, 129, 199
Artois, 296
Artois, Collines de l', 148
Arundel, earls of: Richard, 16; Thomas, 24, 43, 51–2, 89, 137
Arundel, Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury. *See* Canterbury
Aschbach, J., 329
Auch, 113
Avignon, 91–2, 170, 174
Avranches, 305

Badby, John, 48–9, 95
Barbazan, seigneur de, 240, 242–3, 312
Bardolf, Lord, 33, 76 *n.*
Bardolf, Sir William, 75
Bardolf, Shakespearean character, 73, 75
Bath, bishop of, 174 *n.*
Bavaria, 241
Bavaria, duke of, 180
Bavaria, Lewis of, count palatine. *See* Lewis
Bayeux, 202–3, 323
Bazadais, 113
Beaufort, castle of, 41–2, 112
Beaufort, Edmund, 40
Beaufort, cardinal Henry, bishop of Lincoln, then of Winchester, 42; chancellor, 89; chancellor of Oxford University, 7; council of regency including, 114; friendship for Henry V, 40–2, 54; Henry V under tutelage of, 5–6; loan to Henry V, 258–9; Oldcastle tried before, 97; papal election influenced, 188; parentage, 41; parliament opened, 166; plot against Henry V attributed to, 57

Beaufort, Joan, daughter of John of Gaunt. *See* Ferrers, Joan, lady
Beaufort, John, earl of Somerset. *See* Somerset
Beaufort, Thomas, earl of Dorset. *See* Dorset
Beaufort family, 40–2
Beaugé, battle of, 254–5
Beaugency, 264
Beaulieu, 322
Beauvais, 176
Beauvaisis, 230
Bec Hellouin, abbey of, 323
Bedford, John, duke of: Cosne siege raised, 278, 280; created duke of Bedford, 109; emperor entertained, 178; French envoys received, 115; funeral of Henry V attended, 285; Henry V's last instructions to, 280–2; lieutenant of England, 114, 126, 165, 193, 260; naval victory, 182, 184; Oldcastle examined before, 102; parentage, 36; Paris entry of Henry V attended, 245; queen Katherine escorted to France, 275; Scottish invasion opposed, 101; treaty of Troyes sealed in presence of, 232; work of Henry V maintained, 216, 285, 301; youthful escapades, 49, 73, 80
Benedict XI, pope, 169
Benedict XIII, pope, 171, 173
Berkeley, lord, 115
Bernay, 323
Berry, duke of, 113
Berwick, near Shrewsbury, 27 *n.*
Bethencourt, ford, 145
Béthune, river, 139
Beverley, 254, 324
Bibliography, 325–30
Bigorre, 113
Bishops, election of, 166
Black Book of the Admiralty, 326
Blackheath, 162, 178
Blanchard, Alan, 211
Blanchetaque, ford of, 140–1, 322
Blangy, 148
Blaye, 306
Blythe, 321
Boar's Head, Eastcheap. *See* London, Boar's Head
Bohun, Humphrey de, earl of Hereford. *See* Hereford
Bohun, Mary de, countess of Derby. *See* Derby
Bohun, Mary de, countess of Hereford. *See* Hereford
Boke named the Gouvernour, 77
Boniface VIII, pope, 169
Booty, 119–20
Bordeaux, 55
Boston, 123
Boucicault, marshal, 131, 134, 163
Bourbon, duke of, 146, 159
Bourges, 214, 296
Bourges, archbishop of, 115–16
Boves, 142
Bracquemont, admiral de, 230
Bramham Moor, 34, 76 *n.*
Bray, 226, 239, 324
Brésle, river, 140
Bretigny, treaty of, 112, 179, 216, 221, 305
Brie, 266
Bristol, 11, 121, 123
Brittany, 112, 196, 202, 289, 296, 306
Brittany, duchess of: Joan, *see* Joan, queen of England; duke of, 202, 216, 220, 328
Buch, Gaston de Foix, captal de. *See* Foix
Buchan, earl of, 256
Burgundians and Armagnacs, 19, 43–6, 50–6, 109–10, 174–5, 198, 204, 208, 214–15, 244–5, 247–8, 315
Burgundy, county of, 187, 296
Burgundy, duchy of, 187, 296
Burgundy, dukes of: Charles the Bold, 108; John, "Sans Peur," burial, 239; daughter's marriage to Henry V sug-

gested, 51; dauphin's negotiations with, 223–7; fiefs, 142, 166, 186–7; murder at Montereau, 226–8, 245–6, 271, 312; negotiations with Henry V, 109–10, 184–7, 196, 218–23, 225; Orleans opposed and murdered, 44–5; peace with Orleanists, 112; pedigree, 108; ravaging of royal domain by, 174–5; Rouen's reliance on, 205, 208–10, 218; royal power of France in hands of, 198, 202, 204, 208, 214, 218–27; St. Cloud battle against Orleanists, 52–3; Philip "the Good" (count of Charolais), dominions, 296, 306; French towns besieged, 238–41; funeral of Henry V attended, 285; Gloucester's insolence to, 185–6; Henry V's deathbed wishes regarding, 282; at Mantes, 263; Paris entered with Henry V, 243, 245; pedigree, 108; Shakespeare's presentation of, 70; territories invaded, 277–8; treaty of Troyes negotiated, 228–9; 231–3, 236; Philip "le Hardi," 43–4, 108–9
Burton-on-Trent, 321
Byzantine emperor, 289

Caen, 197–203, 303, 323, 329
Calais, 90, 115, 138, 161, 176, 184–7, 249–50, 262, 285, 299, 300, 305, 322, 324
Calais, Pale of, 179
Calvados, 197
Cambridge, countess of: Anne, 107; earl of, Richard, 100–1, 107, 109, 124–6
Camoys, lord, 152
Canche, river, 147
Canterbury, 91, 115, 123, 162, 178, 182, 184, 250, 252, 321–2, 324
Canterbury, archbishops of: Arundel, Thomas, 12, 43, 46–7, 54, 89, 95–8; Chichele, Henry, 114–16, 162, 178, 211, 217, 232
Cany, battle of, 181
Capgrave, J., 327
Cardigan, 29
Carew, lord, 28
Carmarthen, 28–30
Carnarvon, castle, 14, 25, 29
Castile, 230
Catherine, queen of Castile, 41
Catherine (of France), queen of England, betrothal, 232–3; contract of marriage, 233–4; coronation, 252; French visits, 275, 277, 285; funeral procession of Henry V met by, 285; interview with Henry V, 220–3; left in England, 260; London entry, 252; marriage solemnised, 238; negotiations for marriage, 46, 113, 153, 218, 223, 228; progress through England, 254; Shakespeare's presentation of, 69–70; son born to, 267; stay at Villeneuve-le-roi, 238; Windsor visit, 254
Catherine of Siena, St., 170
Caudebec, 208, 212, 324
Champagne, 225, 261
Charentan, 231, 278
Charles IV, emperor, 167
Charles IV, king of France, 107
Charles V, king of France, 107–8
Charles VI, king of France: Armagnacs and Burgundians reconciled, 55, 112; Burgundians' control of, 1417, 204, 215, 219, 229; claim to French crown, 107–8; interview with Henry V, 230–1; madness, 44, 46, 51, 108–9; meagre household of, 275–6; Orleanists favoured, 109; Paris entered with Henry V, 244–5; provisions of treaty of Troyes regarding, 233–6; Sigismund's failure to mediate

between Henry V and, 183; treaty of Troyes accepted, 230–1, 246; with English army, 238–9, 243
Charles VI, Histoire de, 327
Charles VII, king of France (the Dauphin Charles), Burgundy's negotiations with and death, 223–8; campaign against, 1420, 238–43; character, 215; disinherited by Estates General, 246; escape to Melun, 204; judged in Parlement of Paris, 246; military operations, 1421, 256–7, 261–2, 271, 310 *n.*; negotiations with Henry V, 216–20; pedigree, 107–8; possessions at death of Henry V, 296–7, 306; rally round, 214–15; recovery of power, 249; treaty of Troyes's provisions against, 236
Charles VII, Histoire de, 329
Charles of Valois, French prince, 107–8
Charolais, count of, Philip. *See* Burgundy, dukes of, Philip "the Good," duke of
Chartres, 261–2, 310 *n.*, 324
Chastellain, Georges, 327
Château Gaillard, 213
Chaucer, Thomas, 258
Chef de Caux, 128
Cherbourg, 203, 208
Chertsey, 321
Chester, 13, 25
Chichele, Henry, archbishop of Canterbury. *See* Canterbury
Chronicle of London, A, 327
Chronicles of the reign of Henry V, 326–8
Chronique d'Arthur de Richemont, Connétable de France, Duc de Bretagne, 328
Chronique de Normandie, 326
Church, A. J., 329
Church of England, 47, 91–5, 104–5, 166–7, 302–3
Cinque Ports, 121, 192
Civil List, 90
Clarence, dukes of: Lionel, 90, 107; Thomas, advance to Paris, 225; birth, 5; Cambridge, Scrope and Grey tried by, 126; character, 35–6; created duke, 55; death, 257–8; emperor entertained, 178; expedition to France, 55–6; French envoys received, 115; Harfleur surrender negotiated, 132; illness involving absence from Agincourt, 137; lieutenant of France and Normandy, 247–8, 255–7; military contract, 118; Paris under command of, 244–5; share in conquest of Normandy, 193, 198, 200, 206; Troyes negotiations attended, 221, 232; youthful escapades, 49, 73, 80
Clarence, Philippa of, 90, 107
Clement V, pope, 170
Clement VII, pope, 170
Clun, 13
Cobham, baroness, 96; lord, Oldcastle, Sir John. *See* Oldcastle
Coinage, French, 246–7, 276; Norman, 308
Coldharbour, Eastcheap. *See* London, Heralds' college
Cole, C. A., 326
Colonna, Otho. *See* Martin V, pope
Compiègne, 276, 324
Constance, Council of, 172–4, 174 *n.*, 187
Constance of Castile, duchess of Lancaster. *See* Lancaster
Conway, castle, 14, 21, 25
Cooling castle, 97
Corbeil, 239, 278, 278 *n.*, 324
Corbie, 142
Corday, Raoul de, 309
Cornwall, John, 145
Cosne, 277–8
Cossa, Baldassare. *See* John XXIII, pope

Cotentin, 55, 196, 203
Courcie, 202
Courtfield, 4
Coventry, 324; priory, 78–9
Crocy, 264
Crown jewels, 122, 124

Dante, 167
Dartford, 178, 321
Dauphin. *See* Louis, dauphin, and Charles VII, king of France
Dauphinist party, 214–17, 221, 225–8, 230, 234, 238–9, 248–9, 255–6, 261–74, 276–7
Davies, J. S., 327
Dax, 306
De Lettenhove, Kervyn, 327
Derby, countess of: Mary (de Bohun), mother of Henry V, 3–5
Des Ursins, J. J., 327
Dieppe, 139, 212
Dijon, 239
Dillon, viscount, 326
Dordrecht, 187
Dorset, earl of: Beaufort, Thomas, duke of Exeter, helped to relieve Cosne (Burgundy), 278; chancellor, 47; Charles VI in care of, 247; Château Gaillard blockaded, 213; created duke of Exeter, 190; embassy to Paris, 111–14; Harfleur under command of, 136, 166, 175, 180–1, 190; Henry V's death-bed and funeral attended, 281, 285; Meaux siege conducted by, 266, 268; parentage, 41; Rouen siege assisted, 205–6; Scottish invasion repelled, 101
Douglas, earl of, 25, 27, 101
Dover, 115, 161–2, 178, 184, 250–1, 260, 322, 324
Dreux, 262–3, 324
Dryhurst, Henry, 11
Du Chastel, Tanneguy, 214, 227
Du Fresne de Beaucourt, G., 329
Dukes, terms of military service, 118–19
Dupont, Mlle., 328
Durham, bishop of, 110, 112, 114, 258
Dysentery, 131, 264

Earls, terms of military service, 118–19
Eaulne, river, 139
Edeyrnion, Commote of, 22
Edward II, king of England, 80, 107
Edward III, king of England, 105–7, 293
Edward (the Black) Prince of Wales, 107
Ellis, H., 326–8
Elmham, Thomas of, 71, 326
Eltham, 99, 162, 250, 252, 322
Elyot, Sir Thomas, 77
Emperor of the east. *See* Byzantine emperor
Empire, Medieval Roman, 167–9, 172, 177, 183; for the emperor Sigismund *see* Sigismund
England, condition under Henry IV, 287–90; restoration of, under Henry V, 290–320
English Chronicle, 1377–1461, An, 327
English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century, 325
Esquires, terms of military service, 118–19
Estates general of France, 245–7, 249, 307
Estouteville, Seigneur d', 129, 132
Eterville, 197
Etrepagny, 212
Eu, 140, 212, 322
Evreux, 212, 323–4
Exeter, dukes: Beaufort, Thomas, earl of Dorset, *see* Dorset. Holland, John, earl of Huntingdon, *see* Huntingdon

Fabyan, R., 71, 328
Falaise, 201, 203, 323

Falstaff, Sir John, 62–3, 73–5
Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth, The, 72
Fastolf, Sir John, 74–5, 300
Fauquembergh, count of, 158
Faversham, 321
Fécamp, 324
Fenin, Mémoires de Pierre de, 328
Ferrers, Joan, lady, 41
Feudal levy, 117
First English Life of King Henry the Fifth, 71, 73, 83, 85, 328
Flanders, 51, 112, 166, 187, 217, 296
Flint, 11, 14, 25
Foedera, Rymer's. *See* Rymer's *Foedera*
Foix, count of, 248
Foix, Gaston de, captal de Buch, 224
Forced loans, 123
France, appointments made by Henry V in, 325; Burgundian and Armagnac disputes, 19, 43–6, 50–6, 109–10, 174–5, 198, 204, 208, 214–15, 244–5, 247–8, 315; claim of English kings to crown of, 105–7, 110–12, 293; coinage, 246–7, 276; Dauphinist successes, 1421, 254–7; division prevented by death of Henry V, 295–7; English power at its height in, 243–9, 295, 305–9; estates general, 245–7, 249, 307; fleet sent against English coast, 181; invasions by the English, 128–61, 180–2, 191–213, 238–44, 254–7, 261–74; mediation of Sigismund in English war, 173–5, 179–85; negotiations with England, 1414, 110, 112–16; papal dependence on, 91, 169–70; taxation, 247; territory acknowledging Dauphin 1420, 238; Troyes treaty, 214–37; Welsh rebels aided, 28 *n.*, 30
France, Isle of, 175, 212, 214, 225, 230, 244, 262–3, 265, 295, 309, 328
French Rolls, Calendar of the, 325
Frevent, 147
Fronsac, 306

Gabelle, 309
Galardon, 264
Garter, Order of the, 179
Gascoigne, Sir William, chief justice, 50, 76 *n.*, 80, 89, 330
Gast, Louis, 272
Gaucourt, Seigneur, 129, 132
Gaunt, John of. *See* John of Gaunt
Genoa, 181–2, 193, 196
George, St., 180
Geschichte Kaiser Sigmunds, 329
Gesta Henrici Quinti, 326
Gisors, 225, 228, 323
Glendower, Owen, 15–17, 20–33
Gloucester, dukes of: Humphrey (*d.* 1399), 10–11; Humphrey (*d.* 1447), character, 36; created duke of Gloucester, 109; Dreux captured, 263; emperor received, 178; French envoys received, 115; Henry V's influence over, 301; hostage in Burgundy, 185–7; Norman expedition shared, 193, 203, 208; return to France, 260; Titus Livius patronised, 64; Troyes negotiations attended, 221; warden of England, 232, 282; wounded at Agincourt, 158–9: Thomas of Woodstock, 5, 10
Glyndowrdy, 21–2
Godefroy, 327
Golden Bull, 167
Goodwin, T., 329
Graville priory, 129
Gregory XI, pope, 170
Gregory XII, pope, 171, 173
Grentheville, 197
Grey, lord, Richard, 111
Grey, Sir Thomas, 100, 125–6
Grey of Ruthin, lord, 16–17, 22–3, 115

Grosmont, 30
Gruel, Guillaume, 328
Guienne, 90, 153, 179, 293, 295, 306
Guienne Herald, 134
Guildford, 321–2

Hakevyle, Seigneur de, 133
Hall, E., Chronicle of, 328
Halle, castle, Brabant, 44
Hankeford, Sir William, 89
Harborough, Market, 321
Hardy, E. L. C. P., 327
Hardy, W., 327
Hardyng, John, 327
Harfleur, Armagnacs attempt to recover, 175, 180–2; cession demanded by Henry V, 179; colonisation, 134; Dorset in command at, 136; naval fights off, 182, 184, 193; position, 128; Queen Katherine lands at, 275; raids from, 166, 180–1; siege, 124, 128–34, 173, 322; surrender offered by Henry V, 153; truce providing for surrender to neutrals, 180; visits of Henry V to, 322, 324
Harlech, castle, 14, 22, 29, 32–3
Havre-de-Grâce, 129
Hayteley Field, 27–8
Hearne, T., 326
Helly, lord of, 154
Henley, 321
Henry VII, emperor, 167
Henry IV, king of England, character, 3, 34; claim to French crown, 107; crusades, 5; death, 58–9, 84; England's condition under, 18, 287–90; exile, 10; French policy, 46, 50–6; funeral, 91; health, 2–3, 34–5, 37, 39, 58; kingdom seized by, 10–11; Northern rebels defeated, 26–9; Owen Glendower a companion of, 16; parentage, 41; rebellion against, in 1399, 12–13; sons of, 35–6; Welsh expeditions, 17, 21–2, 24
Henry V, king of England, accession, 86–102; Agincourt campaign, 128–61; appearance, 9, 86–7; appointments in France made by, 325; assassination plot against, 56–7; birth, 2–4; Burgundians supported, 46, 51–4, 56; Calais visit, 1416, 184–7, 322; captain of Calais, 48, 56; character, 2, 35, 37–40, 49–50, 57–8, 60–88, 190–1, 297–304, 320; claim to French crown, 105–7, 110–12, 293; coronation, 89; daily life, 189–90; death, 283–4; Eastcheap residence, 48; education 5–11; emperor's alliance with, 176–85, 190, 196; final instructions, 280–3; French policy, 103–8; funeral, 284–6; generalship, 194–6, 309–16; Gisors besieged, 225, 228; height of power, 248–9; illness, 276–80; imprisoned at Trim, 10–11; Irish visit, 1399, 9–11; itinerary, 321–4; knighted, 9; last expedition, 261–74; Lollard policy, 46–7, 49, 95, 97–100; London entry after Agincourt, 162–4; marriage, 46, 51, 69, 113, 153, 218, 228, 238; Normandy campaign, 1417, 191–213; Norman gentlemen and religious houses given letters of confirmation by, 325; papal policy, 166–7, 176, 188; parentage, 2–3; Paris visits, 243–8, 263, 275–6, 324; patriotism, 316; president of the Council, 48; prince of Wales, 12; reception in England after treaty of Troyes, 251–4; Shrewsbury victory shared by, 26–8; sieges of 1420, 238–43; sources for history of, 71–3, 77–80,

325–30 ; treaty of Troyes negotiations, 214–24, 228–33 ; voyage to France, 1415, 127–9; Welsh war, 13–33, 67–8, 76 ; will, 126 ; work, 287–320
Henry VI, king of England, 267, 275, 282–3
Henry of Monmouth, 329
Hereford, 13
Hereford, bishop of, 123
Hereford, countess of, 4 ; earl of, 48
Heretics, 48–9, 94–5, 102 *n.*, 173, 303. *See also* Lollards
Herrings, battle of the. *See* Rouvray, battle of
Hertford, castle, 321–2
Hingeston, F. C., 327
Historia Anglicana of Walsingham, 326
History of England under Henry IV, 329
History of the Royal Navy, 329
Holinshed, R., *Chronicles*, 71, 328
Holland, 114, 120–1, 193
Holland, William, count of, 180
Holland, John, earl of Huntingdon. *See* Huntingdon
Homildon Hill, battle of, 24–5
Honfleur, 212
Hope, W. H. St. John, 326
Hornsby, John, 78
Hotspur. *See* Percy, Henry
Howden, 257, 324
Howell, David, 125
Howes, E., 328
Hungary, 168–9
Hungerford, Sir Walter, 149
Huntingdon, earl of : Holland, John (*d.* 1400), 191 ; Holland, John (duke of Exeter), 191, 193, 206–7
Huss, John, 173

Indentures for raising troops, 118–20
Ipswich, 123
Ireland, 9, 90
Irish soldiers in French employ, 269, 271, 273
Isabella (of France), queen of England, wife of Edward II, 105–7
Isabella (of France), queen of England, wife of Richard II, 45
Isabella, queen of France, 204, 220–2, 231–4, 241, 275, 277

James I, king of Scotland, 19, 193, 240, 260, 263, 285
Joan, queen of England, 216
John XXIII, pope, 172–4
John, king of Bohemia, 167
John, king of France, 43, 107–8, 112–13
John of Gaunt, 3, 4, 7, 36, 41, 91, 107, 318
Joigny, 262, 265, 324
Judicial administration, 287–8

Katherine. *See* Catherine
Kenilworth, 191, 321–2
Kennington, 321
King Henry the Fifth, play, 61, 65, 69–70
King Henry the Fourth, play, 61–9
Kingsford, C. L., 325, 328–30
Kingston, 321
Knight (chevalier), terms of military service for, 118–19
Knight banneret, terms of military service for, 118–19
König Sigismund und Heinrich der Fünfte von England, 329

" La Gabriell de la Toure," ship, 121
Lagny, 225, 324
La Hire [Etienne de Vignolles], French captain, 215, 261
La Hogue, 55
" La Katerine de la Toure," ship, 121
Lambeth, 166, 178, 324
Lancaster, duchesses of : Blanche, 41 ; Constance of Castile, 41 ; duke of, John of Gaunt, *see* John of Gaunt

Lancaster and York, 329
Langley, King's, 99, 321
Languedoc, 248
" La petite Marie de la Toure," ship, 121
" La petite Trinité de la Toure," ship, 121
La Réole, 306
La Rochelle, 230, 256 *n.*
" La rude Cog de la Toure," ship, 121
" La Trinité Royale," ship, 121
Lavisse, E., 329
Le Bouteiller, Guy, 205, 212, 218
Le Clerc, Jean, 246
Lectoure, 113
Leeds, castle, 97, 181
Le Févre, Jean, Seigneur de Saint-Remy, 151, 328
Leicester, 104, 109–10, 254, 321, 324
L'émigration normande et la colonisation anglaise en Normandie au 15 *Siècle*, 329
Lenz, M., 329
Letters Illustrative of English History, Original, 326
Le Vavasseur, A., 328
Lewis of Bavaria, count Palatine, 241
Lézarde, river, 129, 139
Liber de Illustribus Henricis, 327
Liber Metricus de Henrico Quinto, 326
Libourne, 306
Lillebonne, 134, 212
Lincoln, 324
Lincoln, bishop of, 123
Lisieux, 202, 323
Lisieux, bishop of, 115
L'Isle-Adam, Seigneur de, 129, 204, 224
Lollards, 47, 91–102, 125, 303
London, Boar's Head, Eastcheap, 70, 72–3 ; chronicle of, 327 ; entry of Henry V after Agincourt, 162–4 ; funeral of Henry V, 285 ; Heralds' college, 48 ; queen Katherine's entry, 252 ; St. Giles' Field, 99–100, 100 *n.*, 102 ; St. Paul's, 97, 163 ; ships to be brought to, 120–2 ; Smithfield, 49 ; supplies sent to Rouen army, 208 ; Tower, 97–8, 321 ; Westminster. *See* Westminster
London, bishop of, 188
Longnon, A., 326
Lords Marcher, 14–15
Louis X, king of France, 107
Louis XI, king of France, 108
Louis, dauphin, 133–5, 174
Louviers, 203, 323
Ludlow, 13
Luxembourg, house of, 167
Lynet, Robert de, 211

Maine, 112, 217, 238, 295
Maisoncelles, 150, 154–5, 159–60
Malatesta, Carlo, 173
Malvern, 101
Malyn, Nicholas de, 123
Manduyt, Nicholas, 121
Mantes, 192, 212, 224, 228, 230, 263, 311, 314, 323–4
Manuel Palæologus, Byzantine emperor, 289
March, countess of : Philippa (of Clarence), 90, 107 ; earls of, 23 ; Mortimer, Edmund (married Philippa of Clarence), 107 ; Mortimer, Edmund (*d.* 1424), 24, 90–1, 95, 106–7, 125–6, 137, 293 ; Mortimer, Roger, 23, 107
March, Welsh. *See* Welsh March
Marle, count of, 158
Marshal, the Earl, 206
Martin V, pope, 187–8, 203
Mary de Bohun, countess of Derby, mother of Henry V. *See* Derby
Meaux, 238, 262, 265–74, 303, 310, 313, 316, 324
Meaux, bishop of, 304
Melan, Paul de, 123
Melun, 204, 224, 238–43, 278 *n.*, 312, 324
Memorials of Henry the Fifth, 326

Men-at-arms, 118, 193
Merton, 321
Meulan, 220
Mézy, 220
Michaud, J. F., 327
Military service. *See* Feudal levy
Monmouth, castle, 2, 4, 13
Monstrelet, Enguerrand de, 327
Montéreau, 226–7, 238–9, 324
Montgomery, 13
Mont St. Michel, France, 213
Morand, F., 328
Morgan, Philip, 309
Morley, lord, 115
Morouval, 324
Mortimer, Anne, 107
Mortimer, Edmund, earl of March. *See* March
Mortimer, Sir Edmund, 23, 24, 30, 33
Mortlake, 37, 322
Munimenta Academica, 325

Navailles, seigneur de, 227
Navy, 114, 120–2, 127, 181–2, 184, 192–3, 207, 230, 288–9, 291, 326, 329
Nemours, 324
Nesle, 144
Neufbourg, 323
Neville, Joan, 41
Neville, Ralph, 41
Newark, 324
Newcastle, 121
Newport, 13
Nicolas, N. H.. 325, 327, 329
Nicopolis, battle of, 168
Nogent, 112, 231, 264
Normandy, alienated by English misrule, 299; Bedford's government, 301; cession demanded by England, 111–12, 115; conquest, 190–213, 217–18, 221, 225, 229–30, 235, 248, 293, 295, 300, 309; held by Armagnac, 175; Henry V's system of government for, 307–9; invasion by English, 1415, 128–40; Isle of Wight attacked by adventurers from, 289; last wishes of Henry V regarding, 282; *L'émigration normande et la colonisation anglaise en Normandie*, 329; letters of confirmation to gentlemen and religious houses of, 325; raids by Dorset, 166, 180
Norman Rolls, Calendar of the, 325
Northumberland, earls of: Percy, Henry (*d.* 1408), 24–7, 29–31, 33; Percy, Henry (*d.* 1455), 166, 255
Norwich, bishop of, 110, 112, 122, 137
Noye, river, 142

Offemont, lord of, 268, 273
Oldcastle, Sir John, 52, 74–6, 96–102, 125, 191
Oleron, 113
Oman, C., 330
Orleans, 265, 296
Orleans, duchess of: Isabella, *see* Isabella (of France), queen of England. Dukes of: Charles, 45, 55, 108–9, 112, 146, 159–61, 282; Louis, 44–5, 108–9
Ormonde, earl of, 71, 73, 328
Ospringe, 321
Oxford, 7–8, 46–7, 325

Page, John, 327
Pageant of the Birth, Life, and Death of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, 326
Palatine, count, 241
Papacy, 91–2, 166, 169–74, 176, 183, 187–8
Paris, administrative system under Henry V, 307; Burgundian reign of terror, 1417–204; Burgundy in arms before, 1417, 198; centre of English dominion in France, 295, 305; dauphinist threat to, 261–2; English troops

before, 52–3, 224–5, 230–1; Henry V's visits to, 243–8, 263, 275–6, 324; Hôtel St. Pol, 245–7; Louvre, 245, 247; Meaux prisoners executed at, 272; Melun garrison sent to, 243; Orleanist ascendancy in, 109; Parlement, *see* Parlement; Sigismund's visit to, 174–5; supplies sent to English army, 266
Paris, Journal d'un Bourgeois de, 328
Paris, Un Journal de, 328
Paris pendant la domination Anglaise, 326
Parlement of Paris, 234, 245–6, 307
Parliament, Henry IV elected king by, 11; Henry V's parliaments: 1413, 89–91; 1414, 104, 109, 111; 1415, 165; 1416, 166, 178–9, 190; 1421, 258–60
Parnan, 264
Patay, battle of, 74
Patent Rolls, Calendar of the, 325
Patriotism, 316–19
Peniscola, 174
Percies, rebellion of the, 24–31
Percy, Henry (Hotspur), 21, 24–8, 66–8, 76
Percy, Henry, earl of Northumberland. *See* Northumberland
Percy, Sir Thomas, earl of Worcester. *See* Worcester
Perigord, 113
Peronne, 147, 322
Perpignan, 173–4
Peterborough, 321
Philip III, king of France, 107
Philip IV, king of France, 105, 107, 169
Philip V, king of France, 107
Philip VI, king of France, 105–8
Picardy, 140, 261
Piracy, 288, 291
Pisa, Council of, 1409, 171
Plymouth, 289
Poins, 62
Poitou, 179
Political History of England, 330
Political Poems and Songs, 327
Ponceau-Saint-Denis, 224
Pont de l'Arche, 204–5, 323
Pontefract, castle, 11, 101
Ponthieu, 153, 179, 221
Pontoise, 224–5, 230, 323–4
Pontoons, 204
Pont Remy, 141
Porchester, 322–3
Portland, Isle of, 181
Portsmouth, 122, 127, 181, 259, 322–3
Portugal, 207
Poujoulat, J. J. F., 327
Poultney, family, 48
Powis, lord, 102, 115
Powys, 22
Prague, University of, 167
Prignano, Bartholomew. *See* Urban VI, pope
Priories, alien, 104–5, 303
Prise de Caen, 329
Prisoners of war, 119–20
Privy Council of England, Proceedings and Ordinances of the, 325
Provence, 112
Provence, count of, 170
Provins, 226, 231
Puiseux, L., 329

Quercy, 113

Ramsay, Sir J. H., 329
Ravenspur, 10
Reading, 322
Receuil des croniques et anchiennes istories de la Grant Bretaigne à present nomme Engleterre, 327
Redmayne, Robert, 78, 326
Reign of Henry the Fifth, The, 329
Religieux de Saint-Denys, Chronique du, 327
Revenue, expedients to finance French war, 111, 122–4; grants of 1414, 111; grants of 1421, 258–60

Rheims, archbishop of, 178, 185
Richard II, 5, 7–13, 24, 27, 51, 91, 96, 99, 101–2, 107
Richemont, count of, 150
Riley, H. T., 326
Robert III, king of Scotland, 19
Rochelle. *See* La Rochelle
Rochester, 178, 321; cathedral, 97
Roelt, Catherine. *See* Swynford, Catherine
Rokeby, Sir Thomas, 33
Rolls of Parliament, 325
Rome, 170
Rotherhithe, 322
Rouen, 131, 195–6, 202, 204, 228–30, 248–9, 275, 295, 307–8, 323–4; siege, 204–12, 218–19, 285, 303
Rouen, Siege of, 327
Rouergue, 113
Rougemont, castle (France), 265
Rouvray, battle of, 74
Roxburgh, castle, 101
Ruisseauville, 150
Ruthille, castle (France), 266, 324 *n.*
Rutland, earl of, 12
Rymer's *Foedera*, 325

Saghern, 21
St. Albans, 99, 101, 321
St. André-de-Fontenay, 197
St. Cloud, battle of, 52–3
St. Denis, 175, 225, 231
St. John, prior of hospital of, 114–15
St. Neots, 322
St. Omer, 185
Saintonge, 113
St. Peter supra Divam, 323
St. Pharon, abbey (France), 266
St. Pharon, 324
Saintrailles, Pothon de, 215
St. Remy, French chronicler, 151, 328
St. Sever, 306
Salisbury, 322
Salisbury, bishop of, 174 *n.*
Salisbury, earl of, 206, 300
Sandwich, 120–3, 184, 322
Sauvage, —, 327
Schism, the Great, 166, 169–74, 176, 187–8
Scotland, 17, 22, 24–5, 90, 101, 171, 193, 243, 256, 260, 269, 271, 273
Scrope, archbishop, 31
Scrope, Sir Henry le, 100, 124–6
Sées, 202
Selborne, 321
Senlis, 276, 324
Sens, 238–9
Shakespeare, William, portraits of Henry V, 61–85, 104, 318
Sheen, 182, 302
Ships. *See* Navy
Shrewsbury, 13, 254, 324; battle of (1403), 26–9, 61 *n.*, 64, 67–8, 76
Siege warfare, 310
Sigismund, emperor, 167–88, 190, 196, 294, 329
Sion, religious foundation, 302
Sittingbourne, 321–2
Sluys, 52
Small Hythe, 184
Smithfield. *See* London, Smithfield
Solly-Flood, F., 330
Somerset, John Beaufort, earl of, 41, 48
Somme, river, 138, 140–6
Southampton, 55, 100, 121–2, 124, 126, 181, 192, 322–3
Spain, 171
Story of Prince Henry and Judge Gascoigne, 330
Stow, J., *Annales*, 71–3, 328
Strecche, John, 328
Sudbury, 123
Suffolk, duke of, 160, 166; earls of: Pole, Michael de la, 137; Pole, William de la, 300 309
Sutton, 321–2
Swords, river of the. *See* Ternoise
Swynford, Catherine, 41
Swynford, Sir Hugh, 41

Talbot, lord, 30
Tancarville, 212
Taxation. *See* Revenue
Ternoise, river, 147–8
Tewkesbury, 321
Thompson, Sir E. M., 327
Tillières, 264
Titchfield, 322–3
Titus Livius Forojuliensis, 64, 71, 326, 328
Tonnage and poundage, 165
Touques, 194, 196, 323
Touraine, 112, 115, 217
Tours, 214
Tramecourt, 151
Trie le Chastel, 323
Trim, 10–11
Troyes, 204, 226, 230–3, 238, 313, 324; treaty of, 177, 214–37, 246, 258
Truyn, 323
Turks, 168, 176, 294
Twiss, T., 326
Tyler, J. E., 329

Umfraville, —, 125
Unfraville, Gilbert, 145
Urban VI, pope, 170
Usk, Adam of, 327
Uxbridge, 321

Vaucourt, Seigneur, 141
Vaurus, Bastard of, 266, 269, 272, 313
Vendôme, count of, 115
Venice, 168, 181
Vernon-sur-Seine, 133, 135, 212, 323–4
Versus Rhythmici in laudem Henrici Quinti, 326
Vertus, comte de, 242
Vignolles, Etienne de. *See* La Hire
Villeneuve-le-roi, 238, 264–5, 324
Vincennes, Bois de, 263, 275, 278–9, 324
Vincent, St., 304 *n.*
Vita et Gesta Henrici Quinti, 326
Vita Henrici Quinti, by R. Redmayne, 326
Vita Henrici Quinti, by Titus Livius Forojuliensis, 326
Voyennes, ford, 145

Wales, 13–36
Walsingham's *Historia Anglicana*, 326
Waltham, 322–3
Warwick, earl of: Beauchamp, Richard, 174 *n.*, 176, 186 *n.*, 200, 206, 281, 300, 326
Waurin, 327
Wederington, —, 125
Welsh March, 14–15, 32–3
Welshpool, 102
Wenlock, lord, 41
Wenzel, King of Bohemia, 167
Weobley, 324
Westminster: abbey, 58–9, 99, 164, 252, 286; councils at, 110, 114; Hall, 11; palace, 56–7, 99, 115, 164, 178, 182 250, 252, 321–2, 324
Westmoreland, earl of, 114, 255
Whittington, Richard, 124
Wickham, 323
Wight, Isle of, 289
Wigton, earl of, 256
Williams, B., 326
Winchelsea, 120–2
Winchester, 115, 321–2
Winchester, Henry Beaufort, bishop of. *See* Beaufort, cardinal Henry
Windsor, 12, 179, 254, 321–2
Worcester, 21, 29
Worcester, earl of: Percy, Sir Thomas, 26–7
Wright, T., 327
Wycliffe, John, 91, 93–4
Wykeham, William of, 92–3
Wylie, J. H., 329

York, 255, 324
York, dukes of: Edmund, 107; Edward, 31, 107, 110, 146, 148, 152, 160, 166
Ypodigma Neustria, 326

Zealand, 114

CITY OF WESTMINSTER PUBLIC LIBRARIES

PRINTED BY
WILLIAM BRENDON AND SON, LTD.
PLYMOUTH, ENGLAND